



Black. Hinge.

THE LIVES AND WORKS
OF
MICHAEL ANGELO
AND
RAPHAEL.

BY
R. DUPPA AND QUATREMERE DE QUINCY.

*ILLUSTRATED WITH FIFTEEN HIGHLY FINISHED
ENGRAVINGS.*

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ADVERTISEMENT.

FOR more than three centuries the names of MICHEL ANGELO and of RAFFAELLO DA URBINO have been inseparably associated, not only in the glowing thoughts of all painters, of all lovers of art, of all venerated of intellectual greatness, but also in the general traditions and ideas of the masses. At the present moment, therefore, when there is spreading throughout the country so vivid a desire to attain a knowledge of the imitative arts, it was conceived that it would be doing *the state some service* to publish in a popular form lives of the two men who may be emphatically described as creators of the revival of Art. A critical biography of Michel Angelo, of a wholly satisfactory nature, already existed, from the pen, well known as a most competent one, of Mr. Duppa. His work, accordingly, is here reproduced entire, with the single difference that I have translated the Italian extracts which he retained in their original form. Of Raffaello, no life, in any degree commensurate with so noble a theme, existed in our language. We, therefore, among the foreign biographies of the great Urbinese, adopted that of M. de Quincy, a work which has received the sanction of all continental Europe. The Edition from which I have translated is the third Paris impression, corrected in many points from the Italian version of Signor Longhena, and in other respects carefully revised by the author.

WILLIAM HAZLITT.

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P R E F A C E.

MANY years before the death of Michel Angelo, two biographical tracts of him were published, one by Vasari, the other by Condivi; both equally admirers of his genius, and panegyrists of his fame. Condivi prematurely published his, of which he has given the following account, to apologise for its defects. "I was collecting and arranging my materials, when some unforeseen circumstances arose, which, for two reasons, obliged me to accelerate, nay even precipitate, my biography. In the first place, because some have been employing themselves in writing about this great man, who have not been so well acquainted with him, I believe, as I am; in consequence of which they have said what is not true, and omitted many things that deserve particularly to be known. Secondly, some persons to whom I intrusted my plans and information, have availed themselves of my knowledge, as if to appropriate it to their own honour and advantage: therefore, to supply the defects of the former, and to prevent the injury of the latter, I resolved to give this life of Michel Angelo to the public, imperfect as it is; and what remains to be said, I will communicate to the world at a future time with more deliberation." This work is rather an assemblage of crude materials, where all the facts have an equal importance, than a Life, where any discrimination of character is

marked, or the parts united to compose a whole. Of the author nothing is known, except what is to be collected from his own title-page, dedication, and preface, and from Vasari's unfavourable commentary on his abilities. The information afforded by himself is, that he was a native of Ripa Transone, in La Marca, and studied painting under Michel Angelo. Vasari, speaking of him as one of his pupils, says, "Ascanio of Ripa Transone was very laborious, yet the fruit was never seen, either in designs or works; he toiled many years on a picture, of which Michel Angelo gave him the cartoon. In the end, all the favourable expectation that was thought of him vanished in smoke. I remember Michel Angelo had compassion for his dulness, he assisted him with his own hand; but the improvement he derived was little."¹ From his dedication it would seem he was particularly noticed and patronized by Julius III., under the auspices of whose name his book was published July 16, 1553, in small quarto, containing a hundred pages, with this title, "Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti, raccolta per Ascanio Condivi da la Ripa Transone. In Roma appresso Antonio Blado Stampatore Camerale nel M.D.LIII. alli xvi. di Luglio." According to Beyero,² this edition is one of the rarest books in Europe:³ in the year 1746, Gori republished it in folio, from the only copy to be found in Florence.

The name of Giorgio Vasari is well known; but as his work never appeared in an English dress, a brief account of the author may not be unacceptable, to show the origin of that compendium of biography which has contributed so much to the amusement and information of succeeding times.

¹ Vasari, tom. iii. p. 312.

² Beyero's work is entitled, *Memoria Historico-criticæ Librorum rariorum*, 8vo, Dresdæ et Lipsiæ apud Fridericum Hekel, 1711.

³ This little book is not to be found in any of our public libraries, and the only copy in England I am acquainted with, is in the possession of Samuel Rogers, Esq.

He was born at Arezzo, in the year 1512, and was taught the rudiments of drawing by his father, and the first principles of painting by Gulielmo Mazzilla, a Frenchman. He was taken to Florence by cardinal da Cortona, where he improved himself under Michel Angelo, Andrea del Sarto, and other eminent masters.

By the cardinal he was introduced into the Medici family, where he was noticed by Alessandro and Ippolito. In the year 1527, when they were driven from Florence, he returned to his native city; but an epidemic disease prevailing in Arezzo, he spent his time in the surrounding country, improving himself by painting subjects of devotion for the farmers. His father unfortunately died of the contagion, and left a young family unprovided for. Vasari, to contribute more effectually to their support, quitted the uncertain profession of a painter, and applied himself to learn the more lucrative trade of a goldsmith. In the year 1529, the civil war, which then existed in Florence, obliged the goldsmiths' company to remove to Pisa; and there, receiving commissions to paint some pictures both in oil and in fresco, he was induced to resume his former profession, and afterward through life met with encouragement, that left him neither motive nor desire to change.

Ottaviano de' Medici was his great friend, and treated him as his own son: from the dukes of Florence, and other distinguished persons, he also enjoyed the most liberal patronage, and was constantly employed in works both profitable and honourable to himself.

In the year 1544, by the friendship of Messer Giovio,¹ he was recommended to make designs and paint a hall for the cardinal Farnese, in Rome. While he was executing this work, he attended the cardinal's evening parties, which were

¹ Messer Giovio was the historian, and Bishop of Nocera, better known to us by his Latin name, Paulus Jovius.

frequented by literary persons and men of genius. At one of these parties M. Giovio, speaking of his own museum, arranged and embellished with inscriptions and portraits of illustrious men, said, "That it had always been his desire to add to it, and make his book of eulogiums more complete, by a treatise on the celebrated artists, from Cimabue down to his own time;" and enlarged upon the subject with much general information. The cardinal then turned to Vasari, and asked him, "If he did not think that subject would make a fine work?" Vasari concurred with his eminence, but added, "That it would require the assistance of an artist to collate the materials and arrange them in their proper order; for, although M. Giovio displayed great knowledge in his observations, yet he had not been equally accurate in the arrangement of his facts." "You can, then," replied the cardinal, "give him assistance, which will be doing an essential service to the arts."

To show proper deference to so flattering an opinion, he applied himself to collect such materials as he thought necessary to the plan then suggested; and the information he contributed was drawn up so much to Messer Giovio's satisfaction, that he recommended him to enlarge upon it, and make a more complete work, alleging his own want of leisure and capacity to do justice to such an undertaking. Vasari, with reluctance, consented; and with his own industry, and some assistance from others,¹ he fulfilled his task; and in the year 1550, published his work in two volumes, quarto, entitled, "*Le Vite de piu eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, e Scultori Italiani, da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri; descritte in lingua toscana, da Giorgio Vasari pittore Aretino. Con una sua utile et necessaria introduzione a le arti loro. In Firenze, MDL.*"

¹ In the literary part of his work he was assisted by one Don Bartolommeo Miniato Pitti, a monk of Monte Oliveto, near Florence. In the second edition he received assistance from Don Silvano Razzi, a monk of the Camaldolese order.

The account of Michel Angelo occupies forty-five pages at the end of the second volume; and as he is the only living artist included in this edition, Vasari has given the following reason for introducing his life. "Let no one be surprised that I have here written the life of Michel Angelo, who is yet living: since, it is not to be expected that he can ever die, it has appeared to me, proper to do him this little honour; for when, in common with other men, his life shall pass away, he will be immortal in his immortal works: the fame of which, as long as the world lasts, will live with glory in the mouths of men, and in their records, in contempt of Envy, and despite of Death." Part iii. p. 991. In 1567, he reprinted his work in three volumes, quarto, with portraits of the painters cut in wood, and with the addition of his own life, to the fifty-fifth year of his age.¹

He died in 1574, and in the year 1588 his nephew published a work to commemorate and honour his uncle's abilities, entitled, "*Ragionamenti del Sig. Cavaliere Giorgio Vasari Pittore ed Architetto sopra le invenzioni da lui dipinte in Fiorenza nel palazzo di loro Altezze Serenissime,—insieme con la invenzione della pittura da lui cominciata nella cupola,*" &c. It is not, however, to painting that Vasari is indebted for his present fame, but to his miscellaneous work; which, though crude and incorrect, affords the most ample source of our information concerning the painters of Italy before his time, or contemporary with himself. As an artist, he had little originality, and the extravagancies of genius formed the most predominant feature of his style.

In using the materials supplied by these biographers, I have exercised my own judgment with respect to Michel Angelo's works. From the same data opinions may be formed not less authentic, and perhaps with more impartiality, than by con-

¹ The edition I have quoted, and referred to in the present work, is that by Giovanni Bottari, in quarto, printed in Rome, 1760, except where it has been necessary to recur to the original edition of 1550.

temporary men; but I have not omitted any facts or anecdotes worthy of credit. Besides these authors, I have examined all the writers of that age who could be supposed to throw any light upon my subject, by which means I have corrected some mistakes in Vasari and Condivi, and added to their stock of information. I have also subjoined, by way of illustration, outlines of all his works of importance, in sculpture, painting, and architecture: and his poetry and letters make a part of this volume.

As various modes have been chosen by different authors to write Michel Angelo's name, it might be required of me to give a reason why that has been preferred which I have used. In the time of Michel Angelo, orthography was not reduced to a standard, and every province in Italy spelt agreeably to the dialect most familiar to the writer; from the peculiar hiatus of the Tuscan, Angelo (an angel) is always pronounced Agnolo; the same word by the Bolognese is pronounced Angiolo; and Ariosto, who was a native of Modena, where the same custom prevailed, has used that orthography; the Venetians, with their recitative dialect, often changed the G into a Z, and call the same word Anziolo; but as the Roman pronunciation is universally allowed to be the best, and the Academy della Crusca having given the preference to Angelo, I have adopted it. In Michael, I have omitted the letter A, that both the words might be pure Italian. Buonarroti, the surname of the family, must still be left for any one to choose what orthography is most agreeable to his fancy. The word is compounded of two, which, if translated into English, would be "well arrived;" Buonarroto, in old Italian, being the same in its import as Buonagiunta. This word Michel Angelo himself wrote in many different ways, as I have seen in his own hand-writing. I have therefore chosen, as the best, that which was adopted by the author of "La Fiera" e "La Tancia."

L I F E

OF

MICHEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.

IN Italy, the arts had been progressive from the time of their revival by Cimabue and Giotto, but arrived at their highest distinction in the age of Michel Angelo Buonarroti. This celebrated painter, sculptor, and architect, was born in the castle of Caprese, in Tuscany, on the 6th of March, 1474;¹ and descended from the noble and illustrious family of the counts of Canossa.² When he was born, his father, Lodovico di Leonardo Buonarroti Simone, was Podestà, or

¹ The Florentines at this period commenced their era, not from the nativity of Christ, but from the 25th of March, being the Annunciation.

² THE GENEALOGY OF MICHEL ANGELO, BY ASCANIO CONDIVI.

"The eminent painter and sculptor, Michel Angelo Buonarroti, was descended from the noble and illustrious family of the counts of Canossa, of the territory of Reggio, and was allied to the imperial blood. Beatrice, sister of Henry II., was given in marriage to count Boniface of Canossa, then lord of Mantua, from which marriage was born the countess Matilda, a woman of exemplary prudence and religion: who, after the death of her husband, Godfrey, continued to possess in Italy, besides Mantua, Parma, and Reggio, that part of Tuscany now called the Patrimony of St. Peter. After a life spent in the service of religion, she died, and was buried in the abbey of St. Bernard, out of Mantua, which she built and munificently endowed.

"A. M. Simone, of that family, in the year 1250, coming to Florence in the quality of *Podestà*, merited, by his good qualities, to be made a citizen and head of a *Sestiere*, or district; the city then being divided into municipalities, which are now called quarters. The Guelph party then reigned in Florence, from which he received so many favours, that, from being of the party of Ghibellino he became a Guelph, and changed the emblazoning of his

governor of Caprese and Chiusi.¹ At this period, the sublime science of astronomy was made subservient to judicial astrology; and the prediction of events by the position and supposed influence of the heavenly bodies was a superstition pervading all ranks of people. Attention to the imaginary phenomena of this occult science was not neglected at the birth of Michel Angelo, whose future celebrity, according to his biographers, was thus favourably augured. "Mercury

arms from a dog, argent, rampant, with a bone in his mouth, in a field gules, to a dog, or, in a field azure; and from the lords of the city he afterwards received five lilies gules, in a fret, and a crest with two bull's horns, one or, the other azure, as may be now seen on their ancient shields. The old arms of M. Simone may be seen in the palace, executed in marble, placed there by himself, as was usual with the greater part of those who filled that situation.

"The reason why the family in Florence changed the name from that of Canossa to Buonarroti, was as follows:—The name of Buonarroti had been in the family from age to age, almost without exception, even down to the time of Michel Angelo, who had also a brother called Buonarroti; who, we find from the annals of the city was supreme magistrate when Leo X. visited Florence; and as many of these Buonarroti had enjoyed the highest honours in the republic, so the name had been often introduced, and by common usage became at length the surname of the family; which is not at all to be wondered at, since it was the custom in Florence, in the scrutiny of names qualified to hold any office in the state, after the name of the citizen to join that of the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, and sometimes even other names; hence the name of Buonarroti was perpetuated, as well as that of Simone, who was the first in Florence of the family of the house of Canossa: thus they were called Buonarroti Simone, which is the family name at this day. When Leo X. went to Florence, among many privileges he conferred upon that house, he permitted the family to add to their arms the azure ball of the house of Medici, with three lilies, or."—*Ascanio Condivi, Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti, sec. i., ii., iii.*

This honour mentioned by Condivi, was not conferred on the house of Buonarroti as any peculiar mark of distinction to the family, but given to the brother of Michel Angelo, in common with the other magistrates of the republic, called the "Signori Priori," who supported the canopy over Leo X. when he made his entry into Florence. "Pope Leo X. gave to his brother, Buonarroto di Lodovico di Lionardo Buonarroti Simone, and to each of the other Signori Priori who carried a poll of the canopy at the entry of the pope into Florence, the right of adding to his arms the azure ball of the family, between an L. and X., signifying Leo X., and the title of count palatine."—*Domenico Maria Manni Accademico Fiorentino nei suoi Annotazioni, &c.*

¹ Chiusi was a fortress of some importance in the commonwealth of Florence. In the infancy of the Roman republic it was the ancient Clusium and the capital of Etruria in the time of Porsenna; by opposition to whom, Horatius Coclès and Mutius Scævola immortalized their names.

and Venus were in conjunction with Jupiter for the second time, demonstrating a benign aspect, and plainly showing that the child would be a very extraordinary genius, whose success would be universal; but particularly in those arts which delight the sense, such as painting, sculpture, and architecture."¹

When the time of his father's official situation expired, he returned to Florence, and sent his infant son to be nursed at his villa called Settignano,² intrusted to the care of a woman who was the wife of a stone-mason, and who was also the daughter of a person of the same employment; hence Michel Angelo sometimes facetiously remarked, that it was no wonder he was delighted with a chisel, since it was given to him with his nurse's milk.

When the child was of a proper age, Lodovico, perceiving he had talents, was desirous of educating him for some learned profession, and sent him to one Francesco d'Urbino, who at that time kept a grammar school in Florence, to receive the rudiments of his education. But although he is said to have made some progress, yet, agreeably to the superstitious astrology of his time, heaven and nature interposed, and instead of his becoming attached to books, his mind was fascinated by painting. Drawing was his amusement and his study, and whenever he could steal any time, it was devoted to that pursuit. He sought acquaintance with the students in painting, and among others, became particularly intimate with one Francesco Granacci³ a pupil of Domenico Ghirlandaio, who, seeing his fondness for drawing, encouraged and assisted him; he lent him designs to copy, and took him to his master's house, and other places where any work of art could afford him instruction. The advan-

¹ *Condivi*, § iv.

² This villa was situated three miles distant from Florence, and among the first acquisitions that M. Simone da Canossa purchased when he came into Tuscany, and belonged to the family at the time when *Condivi* wrote.

³ Francesco Granacci was born in the year 1477, and died, according to Baldinucci, on the second of December, 1544. As I have never seen any of his works, I am ignorant of his merit; he does not appear to have painted much; he was independent in his circumstances, and considered his profession rather as an amusement than a lucrative employment. *Vasari* says, he was a man of agreeable manners and conversation, and enjoyed the pleasures of society.

tages of this attention, joined to his natural disposition, so influenced his feelings that he entirely neglected his studies at school.

The first attempt Michel Angelo made in painting was with his assistance; he lent him colours and pencils, and a print¹ representing the story of Saint Anthony beaten by devils, which he copied on a panel with such success that it was much admired. In this little picture, besides the figure of the saint, there were many strange forms and monsters, which he was so intent on representing in the best manner he was capable, that he coloured no part without referring to some natural object. He went to the fish-market to observe the form and colour of fins, and the eyes of fish; and whatever in nature constituted a part of his composition, he studied from its source. About this time he made a fac-simile of a picture, which is recorded to show his skill in imitation. A head had been given him to copy; and he imitated it so well, that, to try his success, he returned his own copy, instead of the original picture, to the person from whom it was borrowed, and the deceit was not immediately perceived; but having told one of his associates, who began to laugh, it was discovered. To add to the deception, he smoked his copy so as to make it appear of the same age as the original.

His father and his uncles perceiving the bias his mind had taken, often treated him harshly, conceiving that the arts would degrade the dignity of the family, if followed as a profession. His inclination was paramount to their objections, and, although the displeasure it produced was a source of great uneasiness, yet he was so delighted in the pursuit that he irresistibly continued it. He copied the studies Granacci lent him from his master's portfolio with such success, that his partiality for that mode of spending his time daily increased, and his father at length perceiving it was hopeless to give his mind any other direction, resolved, by the advice of his friends, to place him under Domenico Ghirlandaïo, who had then a numerous school of pupils, and

¹ Vasari says, this print was engraved by *Martino Tedesco*, but who this German artist was, is still to be conjectured: *Mariette* is of opinion that his name was *Martin Schoën*, whose prints are known by this monogram, M + S.

² *Condivi*, § vi.

was himself not only the most eminent painter in Florence, but one of the most celebrated in Italy.¹

From an original document preserved by Vasari, it appears that he was articulated, on the 1st of April, 1488, to Domenico Ghirlandaio and his brother David for three years, who were to teach him the art and practice of painting, and were besides to allow him twenty-four florins for that time; six florins for the first, eight for the second, and ten for the third year.² This engagement, however, seems not to have been completely fulfilled, but it is nevertheless an honourable testimony of his merit; for those talents must have been unequivocal, when an eminent artist, at the head of his profession, was induced to give a salary, however small, where it was customary for the pupil not to receive, but to pay the premium.

From this situation Michel Angelo might be supposed to derive every advantage, but Ghirlandaio had the character of having envy in his disposition, which felt no pleasure in the most distant prospect of a rival; and from this circumstance Condivi has asserted, that he reaped no benefit from his instructor.³

¹ Domenico Ghirlandaio was so called from his partiality for ornamenting his children's heads with garlands, and from being the first painter who adopted that practice. His real name was Domenico di Tommaso di Currado di Gordini, and was born in Florence in 1451; he died of a fever, in 1495. He had very considerable abilities, with a corresponding reputation, and was employed in all the public works of his time. Sixtus IV. sent for him to Rome to unite his talents with Luca Signorelli, Pietro Perugino, and others, to decorate the chapel built by that pontiff in the Vatican, called the Capella Sistina. He was the first artist who rejected the false taste of introducing gold and silver ornaments into pictures, and showed that they might be imitated in oil colours with a much more harmonious effect.

² "1488. Memorandum. This 1st of April, I, Lodovico di Leonardo di Buonarrodi, apprenticed Michel Angelo, my son, with Domenico and David di Tommaso di Currado, for the next three years, on these terms and stipulations: that the said Michel Angelo is to live with them during that period, to learn the theory and practice of painting, and to fulfil their just commands; and that they on their part shall give him, in the course of these three years, twenty-four florins: six in the first year, eight in the second, and ten in the third, amounting in the whole to ninety-six lire." Further on is the following memorandum: "16 April, the said Michel Angelo this day received two golden florins in gold."—*Vasari*, tom. iii. p. 189.

³ "Ghirlandaio always showed envy when praise was bestowed on any juvenile work of Michel Angelo, and, in order to diminish his credit, used

Whatever were the sources of his improvement, he rapidly surpassed his contemporary students, and adopted a style of drawing and design more bold and daring than Ghirlandaïo had been accustomed to see practised in his school; and from an anecdote in Vasari, it would seem Michel Angelo soon felt himself even superior to his master. One of the pupils copying a female portrait from a drawing by Ghirlandaïo, he took a pen and made a strong outline round it on the same paper, to show him its defects; and the superior style of the contour was as much admired as the act was considered confident and presumptuous.¹ His great facility in copying with accuracy whatever objects were before him, was exemplified in an instance that forced a compliment even from Ghirlandaïo himself. His master being employed in S. Maria Novella, in Florence, Michel Angelo took advantage of his absence, and drew the scaffolding, the desks, the painting utensils and apparatus, and some of the young men who were at work, with so much correctness and ability, that Ghirlandaïo, when he returned, was quite astonished, and said, it was rather the performance of an experienced artist, than of a scholar.

to say that it came out of his study, thereby meaning to insinuate that he himself had some hand in it. One day, when Michel Angelo requested the loan of his book of portraits, in which were painted shepherds with their dogs, views, buildings, ruins, and similar studies, he refused him. And in truth he had the name of being envious, for it was not to Michel Angelo alone he was little courteous, but even toward his own brother, who, when he saw him likely to eclipse his reputation, on giving great hopes of future eminence, he sent into France, not so much for his advantage as some were disposed to say, as for himself to remain in Florence without a rival. This little digression I have been the more induced to make, as I am told that the son of Ghirlandaïo was used to attribute the excellence of Michel Angelo to the instruction he received from his father, who never gave him the least assistance, although Michel Angelo never complained of it, and was even accustomed to speak well of his abilities and his behaviour."—*Condivi*, § v. Vasari is very angry with Condivi for publishing this account; but, like an angry man, he only endeavours to make plausibility supply the place of fact, and leaves the testimony unrefuted.

¹ This drawing Vasari had in his possession in the year 1550, and being at Rome at that time, he showed it to Michel Angelo, who recollected it with pleasure, and modestly remarked, "I knew more of this part of my art when I was a young man, than I do now in my old age."—*Vasari*, tom. iii. p. 190.

At this period Lorenzo de' Medici was desirous of establishing a school for the advancement of sculpture, regretting its mediocrity in comparison with the state of painting. He therefore made a garden in Florence near to the Piazza of St. Mark, which he amply supplied with antique statues, basso-relievos, busts, &c., and appointed one Bertoldo, who had been a pupil of Donatello,¹ superintendent, or keeper. When this arrangement was made, Lorenzo requested Ghirlandaio to permit any of his scholars to study there, who were desirous of drawing from the antique. Of this indulgence Granacci and his friend availed themselves, and from that time the Medici garden became the favourite school of Michel Angelo.

No sooner had he entered upon his studies here, than seeing a student modelling some figures in clay, he felt an emulation to do the same, and Lorenzo, who frequently visited the gardens, observing his progress, encouraged him with expressions of approbation. Not long afterwards, he was desirous to try his skill in marble, and being particularly interested with a mutilated old head, or rather a mask representing a laughing faun, he chose it for his original. At that time many persons were employed in the garden, making ornaments for a library which Lorenzo was decorating: from one of these workmen he begged a piece of marble sufficiently

¹ "Lorenzo laid out a large garden, near the Piazza of St. Mark, which he filled with pieces of ancient sculpture, and with paintings, all of them excellent specimens, designing the place as a school for young men desirous of applying themselves to sculpture, painting, and architecture. He placed it under the superintendence of Bertoldo the sculptor, a pupil of Donatello. Most, if not all, of the young men who attended this school became excellent in their respective art; among them I may mention our Michel Angelo Buonarroti, the splendour, the life, the glory of sculpture, painting, and architecture."—*Vasari, Ragionamenti*, p. 74.

"Lorenzo, who was a great lover of the arts, lamenting that in his time there were no sculptors of any note, as compared with the great painters who illustrated the age, determined upon forming a school of sculpture; in which view he requested Domenico Ghirlandaio, if there were in his study any young men who desired to prosecute the art of sculpture, to send them to his garden, where he would have them taught in a manner that should do honour to themselves, to him, and to the city. Whereupon Domenico sent him eight of his most promising pupils, among whom were Michel Angelo and Francesco Granacci."—*Vasari, vita di Michel Angelo*, tom. iii. p. 192

large for his purpose, and was accommodated with chisels and whatever else was necessary to execute his undertaking. Although this was his first essay in sculpture, he in a few days brought his task to a conclusion; with his own invention he supplied what was imperfect in the original, and made some other additions. Lorenzo visiting his garden as usual, found Michel Angelo polishing his mask, and thought it an extraordinary work for so young an artist; nevertheless he jestingly remarked, "You have restored to the old faun all his teeth, but don't you know that a man of such an age has generally some wanting?" Upon this observation Michel Angelo was impatient for Lorenzo's absence, that when alone, he might avail himself of his criticism; and immediately, on his retiring, he broke a tooth from the upper jaw, and drilled a hole in the gum to represent its having fallen out.

When Lorenzo made his next visit, he immediately saw the alteration, and was delighted with the aptness and simplicity of his scholar; he laughed exceedingly, and related the incident to his friends as an instance of docility and quickness of parts.¹ From this circumstance he resolved to take him under his own immediate patronage, and desired the young artist to tell his father he wished to have some conversation with him.

Michel Angelo went home and delivered the message; his father immediately guessed why he was sent for, and it was with the greatest difficulty he could be prevailed upon to go. He lamented that Granacci had led his son astray to follow a profession that was dishonourable to the family, and declared he would never give his consent that he should be a stone mason. Granacci endeavoured to explain to him the difference between that mechanical occupation and the profession of a sculptor; but the old man was little disposed to hear his reasoning, and less to be convinced; nevertheless, he felt it his duty to wait upon Lorenzo the Magnificent.

Lorenzo received him with his accustomed courtesy and politeness, and, after some previous conversation, asked him if he would resign his son to his care, and permit him to be

¹ This mask was preserved in the Florence gallery when I visited that city in the year 1790. It has been engraved in Gori's edition of *Condivi*, but with little success.

adopted into his family; Lodovico consented with deference, and a due sense of the obligation. Lorenzo then offered his services to Lodovico himself, desiring to assist him, and inquired his profession; to which he replied, "I have never followed any, but have always lived upon my slender income, taking care of some little possessions left to me by my ancestors, and have used my diligence not only to preserve, but improve them." "Well," replied Lorenzo, "look round in Florence, and if anything occurs favourable to your wishes, you may command me to the extent of my power."¹

Michel Angelo was provided with a room, and every accommodation that could be desired, in the house, or rather the palace of Lorenzo. He sate at his table as his own son, and was introduced to men of rank and genius, where such men were every day received and welcomed. His leisure hours were passed in examining and contemplating, with Lorenzo himself, his extensive cabinet of gems and medals; but his more serious studies were pursued with diligence and ardour, and every day produced something to delight his patron. Among other places for improvement, he studied many months from the fresco paintings of Masaccio, in the church of the Carmelites; which for celebrity, as a school, was the Vatican of the fifteenth century; it was here, according to Benvenuto Cellini, he had an affray with Torrigiano, which will be mentioned hereafter.

In the year 1675, this church was destroyed by fire, and Masaccio's paintings suffered in the conflagration; but the Brancacci chapel, his last, and most important work, was saved; and still serves to bear testimony to his genius. In Rome this artist painted a chapel in the church of St. Clement, and another in S. Maria Maggiore; where the figures

¹ Michel Angelo was now between fifteen and sixteen years old, and remained with Lorenzo until his death, which took place about two years afterwards. In the meantime there became a vacancy in the custom house which could not be filled but by a citizen. Lodovico, the father of Michel Angelo, applied to Lorenzo for the appointment; Lorenzo said, smiling, and at the same time clapping him on his shoulder, "You are destined to be a poor man; I thought you would have asked for something better worth your acceptance; but if you are willing to receive this, until something better presents itself, it is at your service." The office produced about eight crowns per month.—*Condivi*, sec. ix

were so true to nature, and the chiar'-oscuro rendered with so much force, that Michel Angelo, at an advanced period of his life, entertained a very high sense of their merit; and once said to Vasari in commendation of them, that they must have been alive when originally painted.¹ It was from the pictures in the Brancacci chapel that Raffaello copied his St. Paul preaching at Athens, and his Adam and Eve expelled from Paradise, in the Loggia of the Vatican. Concerning this painter Sir Joshua Reynolds observes, "that he was the first who saw nature through the medium of sentiment and feeling, and adopted a breadth of manner not known to his predecessors: and though his compositions are formal, and not enough diversified, yet his works possess that grandeur and simplicity which accompany, and even sometimes proceed from regularity and hardness of style. He introduced large drapery flowing easy and natural about his figures; and he appears to be the first who discovered the path that leads to every excellence to which the art afterwards arrived, and may therefore be justly considered as one of the great fathers of modern art. He is a signal instance of what well-directed diligence will do in a short time; his life did not exceed twenty-seven years, yet in that short space he carried the art far beyond what it had before reached, and appears to stand alone as a model for his successors."²

Whilst Michel Angelo was laying the sure foundation of his future fame, and giving daily proofs of his rapid improvement, he formed an intimacy with Politiano, who resided under the same roof, and who soon became warmly attached to his interests.³ At his recommendation he executed a

¹ "Coloro essere stati vivi ne' tempi di Masaccio."—*Vasari, vita di Masaccio.*

² Vasari says, that Masaccio died in the year 1413, at only twenty-six years of age. He also gives a long catalogue of painters and sculptors, who formed their taste and learned their art by studying his works; among whom, he names Leonardo da Vinci, Michel Angelo, Pietro Perugino, Fra. Bartolommeo, Raffaello, Andrea del Sarto, Il Rosso, and Pierino del Vaga.

³ Among all the literary friends of Lorenzo, Angelo Poliziano was the most particularly distinguished: he was born in the year 1454, and indebted for his education to Piero, or rather to Lorenzo de' Medici, whom he always considered as his peculiar patron, and to whom he felt himself bound by every tie of gratitude. On his arrival at Florence, he applied himself with great diligence to the study of the Latin and Greek languages, under

basso-relievo in marble, the subject of which was the battle of Hercules with the centaurs. This work yet ornaments the dwelling of his descendants; and, although not completely finished, displays great ability. But its highest commendation is, that it stood approved, in the riper judgment of Michel Angelo himself; who, although not indulgent to his own productions, did not hesitate on seeing it, even in the decline of life,¹ to express his regret that he had not entirely devoted himself to sculpture.

The death of Lorenzo, which happened on the 8th of April, 1492, deprived Michel Angelo of his patron and protector, and, with the greatest affliction for his loss, he returned to his father's house. The first work that afterward occupied

Christoforo Landino and Andronicus of Thessalonica. Facino and Argyrophylus were his instructors in the different systems of the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy; but poetry had irresistible allurements for his young mind, and his *Stanze* on the *Giostra* of Giuliano, if they did not first recommend him to the notice of Lorenzo, certainly obtained his approbation and secured his favour. The friendship of Lorenzo provided for all his wants, and enabled him to prosecute his studies free from the embarrassments and interruption of pecuniary affairs. He was early enrolled among the citizens of Florence, and appointed secular prior of the college of St. Giovanni. He afterwards entered into clerical orders, and having obtained the degree of doctor of the civil law, was nominated a canon of the cathedral of Florence. Intrusted by Lorenzo with the education of his children, and the care of his extensive collection of manuscripts and antiquities, he constantly resided under his roof, and was his inseparable companion at those hours which were not devoted to the more important concerns of the state. He had the reputation of being the best Greek scholar of his time, and in restoring the original purity of the ancient authors he was indefatigable. He died at forty years of age, Sep. 24, 1494.

¹ The figures in this basso relievo, according to Bottari, are about nine inches high; and Condivi, speaking of it, says, "I remember hearing him (Michel Angelo) say, when I see it now, I repent not having entirely devoted myself to sculpture."—(*Che mi rammenta udirlo dire, che quando la vede, conosce quanto torto egli abbia fatto alla natura, a non seguirar prontamente l'arte della scultura.*) As this declaration was published ten years before the death of Michel Angelo, it must have been his opinion sixty years after the basso-relievo was executed. This work is still preserved in the house of one of his descendants in Florence, where there is also the head of a Madonna in basso-relievo, about two feet high, made, when he was also a young man, to counterfeit the head of Donatello; and Vasari says that it might easily be taken for that master, except that it has more grace and is better drawn.

his attention was a statue of Hercules, four braccia¹ high, which for many years was in the Strozzi palace, in Florence, and in the year 1530 was sent into France by Giovan Batista della Palla, and presented to Francis I.²

Piero, the successor of Lorenzo, inherited his father's possessions, and as much of his rank as could be sustained by a worthless son. Although not entirely without acquirements or capacity, yet his taste was corrupt and vitiated, and his manners overbearing and supercilious; timid when opposed to difficulties, and weak in decision, his wealth and his power only served him to indulge in degrading follies, or trample on the distinctions that gave worth and solidity to character. He considered the arts without any reference to genius or to intellect, and encouraged them only, during his short reign, to administer to his idle pleasures. Under his patronage Michel Angelo was called upon to make a statue of Snow, to ornament the cortile of the Medici palace; and had the same apartments he occupied in the time of Lorenzo. He dined at the same table, and was considered with as much esteem as his new patron had feeling to bestow; the measure of which may indeed be tolerably well estimated by this exultation,—“that he had two extraordinary persons in his house: the one, Michel Angelo; the other, a Spanish running footman, who, besides being remarkable for the beauty of his person, was so rapid on foot, and long breathed, that on horseback, riding full speed, he could not get before him.”³

Michel Angelo still pursued his studies, and among other occupations executed a crucifix in wood, rather less than nature, for the monastery of St. Spirito. The prior valued his abilities and cultivated his friendship; and to promote his knowledge in his profession, recommended him to the study of anatomy, and accommodated him with a room and subjects for dissection, of which he availed himself to acquire the first principles of that branch of science.

The distracted state of Italy at this time, joined to the haughty and pusillanimous conduct of Piero de' Medici,

¹ A braccio is a Florentine measure of about twenty-three English inches.

² In the middle of the last century, Mariette made diligent search for this statue in France, but was unable to obtain any information concerning it.

³ *Condivi*, sec ix. xii.

divided the councils of Florence and disturbed its tranquillity; the pending storm awakened serious apprehensions in the mind of Michel Angelo, and he retired to Bologna to avoid its evils. In all ages calamitous events have been predicted by preternatural signs; and dreams and omens have not been wanting to the credulous, to denote their near approach: and as Clarendon has not thought it unworthy of his immortal history to record the ghost story of sir George Villiers, it may interest the curious to compare a similar one, which predicted the overthrow of Piero de' Medici, more than a century before that time, supported upon similar testimony:—

“In the house of Piero was a man of the name of Cardiere, an improvisatore of great ability, who, in the time of Lorenzo, sung improvviso to the lyre in the evenings while he was at supper. Being a friend of Michel Angelo, he told him of a vision that disturbed his mind; Lorenzo de' Medici, he said, had appeared to him in a dream, with his body wrapped in a black tattered robe, and commanded him to tell his son, that shortly he would be driven from his house never again to return. Michel Angelo exhorted Cardiere to obey; but from his knowledge of Piero's disposition, he was afraid, and kept it to himself. Another morning Michel Angelo being in the cortile of the palace, observed Cardiere terrified and sorrowful: he then told him, Lorenzo had again appeared to him that night in the same habit as before, and suddenly awoke him by a slap in the face, demanding the reason why he had not told Piero what he had before seen? Michel Angelo then reproved him for not having made the communication, and said so much, that he took courage, and, with that view, set out on foot for Careggi, a villa belonging to the Medici family, about three miles from Florence; but before he was quite half way, he met Piero returning. He stopped him, and related what he had seen and heard. Piero laughed, and telling his attendants Cardiere's story they made a thousand jokes at his expense; and his chancellor, who was afterward Cardinal di Bibbiena, said to him: ‘You are out of your mind. Whom do you think Lorenzo wills best, his son or you? If his son, would he not rather have appeared to him, than to any other person, if it had been necessary to appear

at all?' Cardiere, having thus discharged what he considered his duty, returned home, and so feelingly deplored the consequences, that Michel Angelo became persuaded the prediction would take place, and in a few days, with two companions, left Florence and went to Bologna. 'To whatever cause this prediction may be attributed, it so happened that it was verified; for the family de' Medici, with all the suite, were driven from Florence, and arrived at Bologna while Michel Angelo was there, and lodged in the house de' Rossi; and Piero himself never returned to Florence, but, after suffering a succession of mortifications, came to an untimely¹ death."²

Michel Angelo and his two companions had no sooner arrived in Bologna than they were taken into custody for the want of a proper passport. In the time of Bentivoglio a law was made to oblige every foreigner who entered Bologna to have his thumb-nail sealed with red wax; this regulation not having been attended to, they were conducted to the seal-office, and sentenced to pay fifty Bolognese lire; and being unable to discharge the fine, they were detained. Michel Angelo had hitherto paid for his companions, but as it was now necessary for him to consider the state of his finances, he began to repent of his expedition. M. Gianfrancesco Aldovrandi, a Bolognese gentleman, one of the sixteen, constituting the government, being made acquainted with their embarrassment, set them at liberty; and as Michel Angelo was a man of genius, and known to him by reputation, he invited him to his own house, which invitation was at first modestly declined, as he had two companions whom he could not leave with propriety, nor intrude upon his benefactor's liberality. To this Aldovrandi humorously replied: "Then I think I will go with you myself to see the world, as you take such good care of your friends." He, however, at length persuaded him to accept his invitation, and Michel Angelo

¹ Piero de' Medici was born 1471, and succeeded, on his father's death, to his situation in the republic, on the 8th of April, 1492. He was expelled from Florence, November, 1494; and, after an unhappy exile of nine years, was drowned in crossing the mouth of the river Garigliano in a boat, December, 1503, in his way to Gaeta, after an unsuccessful battle, in the event of which he was materially interested.—*Guicciardini*, lib. vi.

² *Condivi*, sec. xiv.

made a satisfactory apology to his associates, and gave them the money he had in his pocket to pursue their route to Venice.

During his stay at Bologna he received the most flattering marks of attention from his hospitable friend, and by his order executed two statues in marble for the church of St. Domenico: a St. Petronio, and an Angel kneeling, holding a candelabrum; each three palms¹ high, for which he received thirty ducats; eighteen for the former, and twelve for the latter. This commission created a jealousy between him and a Bolognese sculptor, who was much dissatisfied in not having been employed, as the St. Petronio had been promised to him. During his stay in Bologna, his evenings were spent in reading Danté, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, to his friend, to whom those authors were particularly interesting. After remaining with him something more than a year, the affairs of Florence being tranquillized, he returned home.

Michel Angelo being again settled in his father's house, he pursued his profession, and made a statue of an infant St. John sleeping, for Lorenzo di Pier Francesco de' Medici, which advanced his reputation: and afterward a sleeping Cupid, as a companion subject. At this period the discoveries of antiquity, which made a new era in art and literature, were found sometimes to betray the judgment into too great an enthusiasm for those remains, and it was suggested by this gentleman when he saw the Cupid, that, could it be supposed to be antique sculpture, it would not fail to be equally admired: and if he would stain the marble to give the appearance of its having been concealed for past ages, he would send it to Rome, with proper instructions, which might be more advantageous to him than if it were possessed by himself. To this proposition Michel Angelo consented, and the statue was consigned to a person to carry on the deception. This man buried it in a vineyard, and afterward pretended to make the discovery, and so completely succeeded, that it was universally admired, and bought as antique by the cardinal S. Giorgio, for two hundred ducats: of which sum, however, Michel Angelo only received thirty, the value set upon it, if it had been sold to his employer.

¹ A pa'm is a Roman measure equal to 8.779 English inches.

The cardinal had not been long in possession of his new purchase, before he was given to understand, that he was deceived; and that instead of its being antique, it was the work of a modern artist in Florence. He felt indignant at the imposition, and immediately sent a person of his household to Florence, on purpose to learn the truth. No sooner was Michel Angelo discovered to be the sculptor, than the most flattering commendation was bestowed upon his merit, and he was strongly recommended to visit Rome as the proper theatre for the exercise of his great talents: as an additional inducement, he was promised to be introduced into the cardinal's service, and taught to expect that he would recover the whole sum for which his statue had been sold. Michel Angelo felt these advantages, and without further hesitation returned with him to Rome. The person who sold the statue was arrested, and obliged to refund the money; but Michel Angelo was not benefited, nor was the cardinal afterward sufficiently complaisant to reward him with encouragement, who had been the means of mortifying his pride.¹

Although, during his stay in Rome, he received no commission from the cardinal St. Giorgio, yet his abilities were too much esteemed not to meet with encouragement from others: he was employed by a Roman gentleman of refined taste, of the name of Jacopo Galli; for whom he made a statue of a Cupid,² and another of a Bacchus. For cardinal Rovano he also executed in marble a group of the Virgin, with a dead Christ in her lap, in Italy, called a *Pietà*; and this composition was so admired, that it gave him a decided rank of precedence amongst his contemporaries.

¹ The gentleman who was sent to Florence by the cardinal to obtain the necessary information respecting the statue, visited the sculptors on a pretence of seeking for a person of that profession to execute certain works in Rome, and among others, introduced himself to Michel Angelo, who having nothing to show, took up a pen, and with such facility designed a hand, that the gentleman was astonished; and this led to a conversation respecting the statue which was the particular object of his visit. This hand I have seen among the drawings of the old masters in the gallery of the Louvre.

The statue of the Cupid, after it was returned by the cardinal St. Giorgio, was in the possession of the duke Valentino, who presented it to the marchioness of Mantua, and by her it was deposited in the family palace in the city of Mantua: but where it is at present, as well as the statue of St John, is not known.

² This statue is lost, but the Bacchus is now in the gallery in Florence.

It is executed with the greatest care, and is now an altarpiece in a chapel in St. Peter's, dedicated to La Virgine Maria della Febbre. It was so much esteemed that several copies were made; one in marble, of the same size, by Nanni di Baccio Bigio, for an altar in the church dell' Anima, in Rome; and another by Giovanni di Cecco Bigio, for the church of St. Spirito, in Florence. Michel Angelo also cast it twice in bronze; once for the Strozzi family, to be placed in the church of St. Andrea della Valle, in Rome; and again for some Flemish merchants, to be sent to Flanders.¹ On a fillet which serves to connect the drapery with the figure, he cut his name; which was not originally intended, but arose from the following circumstance. One day as he entered the church he observed a group of persons admiring the Pietà, and being foreigners they asked who was the sculptor, and one Cristoforo Solari, commonly called Il Gobbo, immediately answered, "One of our countrymen, a Milanese." Michel Angelo stood by in silence, but, to prevent any similar mistake, at night, he shut himself up in the church, and by candle-light cut his name, that neither ignorance nor envy in future might rob him of his reputation. Besides these works, he made a cartoon of St. Francis receiving the *Stigmata*, painted in distemper for St. Pietro in Montorio.² While he executed these

¹ For this cast Michel Angelo received an hundred ducats.

² Michel Angelo made this cartoon to oblige a person in the service of cardinal St. Giorgio, who wanted ability to make an original design, but who had sufficient practice to paint from the designs of others. Vasari has not mentioned his name, but describes him in these words:—"There was a man, formerly a barber, in the cardinal's service, who had turned painter; he painted in distemper very carefully and not ill, but he had no idea of making a design; having got acquainted with Michel Angelo, the latter made a cartoon for him of *St. Francis receiving the Stigmata*, which the barber carefully copied into a small picture, which now hangs in a chapel in the entrance, on the left hand, to the church of San Pietro a Montorio."—Tom. iii. p. 190. In the first edition of this author, printed 1550, he says, Michel Angelo painted the picture. "He painted, after the ancient manner, a picture in distemper of *St. Francis with the Stigmata*, now in the first chapel to the left, as you enter the church of San Pietro a Montorio, at Rome."—Part iii. p. 952. He, however, probably corrected himself by more authentic information in his edition of 1568.

Of this subject I have seen a scarce print in lord Foley's library, at Whitley Court, with the date 1574, and the monogram of Cherubino Alberti Borghesiano.

commissions, both with credit and profit to himself, he was also indefatigable by observation and study to improve and elevate his style.

The republic of Florence, from the death of Lorenzo de Medici, felt the instability of its government, and awake to the danger of contending factions, determined to make a perpetual gonfaloniere,¹ as the best means to secure the

¹ As the official terms of a foreign country may not be familiar to an English reader, a more correct knowledge of the quality of gonfaloniere (literally, standard-bearer) may perhaps be best understood from a slight sketch of the government of which it made a part.

Florence often having been destroyed by the Ostrogoths, was restored by Charlemagne, and remained long subject to his descendants and successors. Under the Guelphs and Ghibelines it suffered by the violence of contending parties, but the union of rival factions laid the foundation of its liberty. Twelve citizens, with the title of *Anziani*, or ancients, were elected to preside over the government, whose office was annual; and two foreigners were appointed judges for the criminal and civil departments, one of whom had the title of "*Capitano di Popolo*," and the other that of "*Poderità*." Other judicious regulations were framed, by which Florence arrived at a high degree of power and credit. This constitution, however, was but of short duration. Manfredi, king of Naples, attacked the Florentines, conquered them, and in the public ruin every vestige of freedom disappeared. After Manfredi's death, liberty revived, and the people again elected twelve magistrates, who went out of office every two months, with other regulations for the administration of public affairs; but the pope, by his vicars and legates, swayed their councils and influenced their decrees.

Such was the state of Florence till the year 1282, when the constitution underwent another form, and from among the magistrates were elected three persons, invested with superior powers, denominated "*Priori*," who also went out of office every two months. The number of these Priori were afterwards increased to eight, and upon some extraordinary occasions to twelve. A palace was built for their reception, officers and guards appointed to distinguish and protect them, and they had the title of "*Signori*," or lords.

In every state where the lowest ranks of the community are intrusted with the civil offices, the nobles are apt to believe themselves above the laws; and the Florentine nobility were guilty of great excesses, and escaped punishment. To correct these abuses an ordinance passed, declaring that every "*signor*," on his entrance into office, should create a gonfaloniere, who should enrol twenty companies of armed men, to preserve the public peace, and enforce a proper and impartial distribution of justice. This new employment soon became the most important in the state, and the gonfaloniere was honoured with precedence over the rest of the magistrates.—*Opere de Machiavelli*, lib. 2. This is the origin of that office, which, although in its institution was only for two months was found expedient to be made perpetual in the person of Soderini.

little liberty the state knew how to enjoy; and Pietro Soderini, a man of the greatest prudence and moderation, was chosen by his fellow citizens to fill that office. Upon this event the friends of Michel Angelo advised him to leave Rome, knowing the disposition of that nobleman to encourage genius, and the high opinion he entertained of his abilities.

A large piece of marble had for many years lain neglected in Florence, embossed¹ for a gigantic statue, but with so little skill, that it was thought spoiled for any purpose of sculpture. This ill-shapen block Michel Angelo wished to convert into a statue, and the gonfaloniere gave him permission to do the best he could with it. He then composed a figure accommodated to the irregular shape of the marble, and in eighteen months produced a colossal statue of a David, which was placed in the Piazza, in front of the Palazzo Vecchio, where it now stands.²

When the statue was removed into this situation, Vasari tells an affected criticism of Soderini, which must remind every English reader of the story Pope has recorded of lord Halifax, when he read to him the first books of his Iliad:—

“The gonfaloniere on seeing the statue admired it exceedingly, but pretended to discover that the nose was a little too large, which Michel Angelo explained, by attributing the appearance to the fore-shortening produced by the situation from which he saw it. His scientific reasoning, however, was not perfectly satisfactory; therefore, in an instant, he mounted the scaffold, taking in one hand a chisel, and a little marble dust in the other, and pretended to reduce the surface, letting the dust fall as he appeared to be working. Soderini was flattered with this deference to his judgment, and soon exclaimed, ‘*Now I am better pleased; you have given it life.*’” Whether this story be accurately true, or meant only to depreciate the taste and judgment of the gonfaloniere,

¹ Embossed, in this sense, means, the rude transformation of the block into a statue; by workmen, the term *bosted-out* is technically used, but there is no correctly authorized word in English to denote this preparatory state of sculpture: it corresponds to what is familiarly understood by a *dead-colour* in painting. The original of this term, was probably the Italian word *abbozzo*.

² The statue was set up in the Piazza del Gran Duca, in the month of September, 1504.—*L'Ammirato, Ist. Fiorent.*

would not at this distance of time be easy to determine; but from the desire Soderini had to promote great undertakings, and to encourage great men, it would be fair to infer he possessed the true spirit of patronage, though he might want knowledge to judge with precision on the correctness of an outline.

By the fame he acquired from this work, the gonfaloniere gave him a commission to make another statue of a David in bronze, which was sent into France, and a group also in bronze, of David vanquishing Goliath: about this time he began a statue of St. Matthew, to be placed in the cathedral in Florence.¹ That he might not entirely neglect the practice of painting, he painted a Holy Family for one Angelo Doni. This gentleman was a Florentine of taste and virtù, and a friend of Michel Angelo; but from the transaction which took place respecting this work, if Vasari be correct, his admiration for the artist's abilities was greater than his intimacy. When the picture was finished, it was sent home, with a note requesting the payment of seventy ducats; Angelo Doni did not expect such a charge, and told the messenger he would give forty, which he thought sufficient; Michel Angelo immediately sent back the servant, and demanded his picture, or an hundred ducats; Angelo Doni, not liking to part with it, returned the messenger, agreeing to pay the original sum; but Michel Angelo, indignant at being haggled with, then doubled his first demand; and Angelo Doni still wishing to possess the picture, acceded, rather than try any further experiment to abate his price.²

That Michel Angelo might have an opportunity of adding to his fame as a painter, the gonfaloniere commissioned him to paint a large historical subject, to ornament the hall of the ducal palace; and, as it was the honourable ambition of Soderini to employ the talents of his country in the establishment of its fame, he engaged the abilities of Leonardo da Vinci, at the same time, to execute a corresponding picture to occupy the opposite side of the hall. An event in the war between the Florentines and the Pisans, was the subject

¹ Vasari and Condivi mention these works, tom. iii. p. 206, § xxii., but at present they are not known, except the statue of St. Matthew, which was never terminated, and is still in Florence in the state Michel Angelo left it.

² This picture is preserved in the Florence gallery, and is, I believe, the only easel picture remaining by Michel Angelo that can be authenticated.

Michel Angelo chose; and that of Leonardo da Vinci, a battle of cavalry.

As the cartoon of Michel Angelo was the most extraordinary work which had appeared since the revival of the arts in Italy, and as at this day perhaps no part of it remains, I shall transcribe Vasari's account and description of it. "The Florentine soldiers, bathing in the river Arno in the heat of the weather, were alarmed by an unexpected assault from the enemy. The hurry and confusion in getting out of the water, dressing themselves, and preparing for action, was the point of time chosen, and the principal group in the cartoon was descriptive of that scene. Some of the figures were employed putting on their armour, buckling on the cuirass, and getting ready with precipitation to give assistance to their companions; whilst an infinite body of cavalry fighting, commenced the action. Among other figures was an old man seated on the ground, whose head was bound with a garland of ivy to shade his brows. In the tumult and confusion that surrounded him, he was represented drawing on a hose with difficulty, from the leg being wet; and with great muscular exertion and expression of countenance showed both energy and impatience. The actions and attitudes of the figures were as contrasted as the circumstances might be supposed to create, and difficult foreshortenings characterised the deep knowledge of the artist, and his powers of execution. The figures were variously sketched; some in charcoal, others in lines drawn with a pen, and some stumped with black chalk, and the lights heightened with white, exhibiting at once great versatility and professional skill. Such was the excellence of this work, that some thought it absolute perfection; not to be rivalled, and hopeless to be approached. And certainly credit is due to the opinion, as from the time it was placed in the papal hall to the honour of Michel Angelo and the glory of the art, it was for many years constantly visited by foreigners as well as natives, who, by studying a drawing from it, became eminent masters."¹

¹ The names, enumerated by Vasari, who studied this cartoon, were Aristotile da Sangallo, Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, Raffaello Sanzio d'Urbino, Francesco Granacci, Baccio Bandinelli, Alonzo Berugetta Spagnuolo, Andrea del Sarto, Francia Bigio, Jacopo Sansovino, il Rosso, Maturino, Lorenzetto, Tribolo when a child, Jacopo da Pontormo, and Pierin del Vaga.

Michel Angelo was employed in making the cartoon when Julius II. was elected to the papal dignity,¹ and from being invited by that pontiff to the Vatican, left it unfinished, contrary to the wish of Soderini. Afterward, quitting Rome in disgust, he returned to Florence and completed the design; but succeeding events stayed the further prosecution of the undertaking, and the picture itself was never begun. The revolutionary changes which deprived the government of one of the best men that ever superintended the administration of public affairs, were equally unfavourable to the completion of public works, and from their consequences we have now to regret the loss of the cartoon itself.

When Soderini was forced from his situation, and the government of Florence reverted to the Medici family, the cartoon was removed from the senatorial council-chamber to the Medici palace, and put into a large room in an attic story, where students had free access for their improvement. From the ill state of health of the duke Giuliano, and the worthlessness of his nephew Lorenzo, it was disregarded, and no care taken to prevent its being ill used; under these circumstances, it is said that some of the persons who were permitted to study from it, by degrees mutilated the cartoon, and ultimately destroyed it.

This irreparable injury to posterity is more particularly attributed to Baccio Bandinelli,² who is accused of having made use of a false key to let himself into the room privately, and, when alone, to tear it, and carry away the pieces. Vasari, speaking of its destruction, says—"To the city the loss was great; but the heavy charge of envy and malignity on the character of Bandinelli, which was deservedly given to him by every one, was much greater." He also adds, that in his time there were pieces to be seen in the possession of individuals; and one person in particular, a gentleman in Mantua of the name of Uberto Strozzi, had a fragment,

¹ Julius II. was elected on the 3rd of November, 1503, and crowned on the 26th of the same month.

² Baccio Bandinelli was a native of Florence, born in 1497. He became a celebrated painter, and ranks with the most distinguished men that Italy has produced. His martyrdom of St. Laurence would not diminish from the reputation of Raffaelle.



The Garden of Eden

which he preserved with the greatest care. Among those who studied from it, Sebastiano da Sangallo was the only person who made a complete drawing of the principal group; from which, in the year 1542, he painted a copy in *chiar-oscuro* for the king of France.

The views of Julius II. were as distinguished for the encouragement of talents, as his ambition was impetuous and unbounded in the exercise of sovereign power. It was a fortunate observation of his, that learning elevated the lowest orders of society, stamped the highest value on nobility, and to princes was the most splendid gem in the diadem of sovereignty. He was no sooner seated on the throne than surrounded by men of genius. Michel Angelo was among the first invited to his court, and he accompanied his invitation with an order for an hundred ducats to pay his expenses to Rome.¹ After his arrival, some time elapsed before any subject could be determined upon, for the exercise of his abilities; at length the pope gave him an unlimited commission to make a *clausoleum*, in which their mutual interests should be combined; but the sculptor may be said to make the monument for himself, when it only serves to record an illustrious name that will live in the page of history; he alone makes it for another, where a tablet is necessary to retard the hour of oblivion.

Having received full powers, Michel Angelo commenced a design worthy of himself and his patron. The plan was a parallelogram, and the superstructure was to consist of forty statues, many of which to be colossal, and interspersed with ornamental figures and bronze *basso-relievos*, besides the necessary architecture with appropriate decorations, to unite the composition into one stupendous whole.

When this magnificent design was completed it met with

¹ This statement is the same in Condivi and Vasari. Bottari, however, has mistaken one sum for another, and made Condivi give him a thousand ducats instead of a hundred for this purpose; and has ingeniously commented on the improbability of so large a sum being appropriated to that use, to set aside his testimony in an existing difference between him and Vasari in a fact immediately connected with that circumstance. Padre della Valle, in his edition of Vasari, has copied the mistake just as he found it, without examination.—See Condivi, fol. § xxiii., and Bottari's ed. of Vasari, 4to MDCLX., vol. iii. p. 211.

the pope's entire approbation, and Michel Angelo was desired to go into St. Peter's to see where it could be conveniently placed. At the west end of the church, Nicolas V., half a century before, began to erect a new tribune, but the plan had not been continued by his successors; this situation Michel Angelo thought the most appropriate, and recommended it to the consideration of his holiness. He inquired what expense would be necessary to complete it; to which Michel Angelo answered, "A hundred thousand crowns." "It may be twice that sum," replied the pope, and immediately gave orders to Giuliano da Sangallo to consider of the best means to execute the work.

Sangallo, impressed with the importance and grandeur of Michel Angelo's design, suggested to the pope that such a monument ought to have a chapel built on purpose for it, where local circumstances might be so attended to as to display every part of it to advantage; at the same time remarking, that St. Peter's was an old church, not at all adapted for so superb a mausoleum, and any alteration would only serve to destroy the character of the building. The pope listened to these observations, and to avail himself of them to their fullest extent, ordered several architects to make drawings; but in considering and reconsidering the subject, he passed from one improvement to another, till at length he determined to rebuild St. Peter's itself;¹ and this is the origin of that edifice which took a hundred and fifty years to complete, and is now the grandest display of architectural splendour that ornaments the Christian world.

By those who are curious in tracing the remote causes of great events, Michel Angelo, perhaps, may be found, though unexpectedly, thus to have laid the first stone of the Reformation. His monument demanded a building of corresponding magnificence; to prosecute the undertaking, money was wanted, and indulgences were sold to supply the deficiency of the treasury; and a monk of Saxony opposing the authority of the church, produced this singular event, that whilst the most splendid edifice which the world had ever seen was building for the catholic faith, the religion to which it was consecrated was shaken to its foundation.

¹ Vasari, vita di Giuliano da San Gallo, tom. ii. p. 83.

The monument, whose base was a parallelogram of thirty-four feet six inches, by twenty-three, was to have been insulated, and to have had four façades surrounded with arched recesses containing statues, and between them, terms, supporting a projecting cornice. On pedestals before them, were to have been statues representing the subjugated provinces the pope had made obedient to the apostolic see; and others, personifying the virtues and liberal arts, denoting by their attitudes, that by the death of Julius II. they also became prisoners of Death; no other prince being supposed likely to supply his place with the same fostering care and munificence. Above the cornice was to have been, at the angles, four colossal figures, personifying Moses and St. Paul, and Active and Contemplative Life;¹ and above them, a frieze of basso-relievos in bronze, and smaller figures. To crown the whole, two statues representing Heaven and Earth were to support a sarcophagus: the former, expressing joy on Julius being received into a happier and a better world; the latter, expressing sorrow for his loss. Within the monument, a sepulchral chamber, of an oval form, was to have contained the body of the pope.

For this great work Michel Angelo went to Carrara, to procure a quantity of marble necessary for the undertaking, and the pope gave him an order upon a banker in Florence for a thousand ducats to pay for it. That he might be sure of having such blocks as were best adapted to his purpose, he took up his residence for eight months at the quarry, superintending and giving directions.² Part of the marble he ordered to be sent to Rome, and part to Florence, that he might execute some of the figures there, when the unwholesomeness of the summer season at the Vatican might subject

¹ From the collection of Mariette, an original sketch for this mausoleum was published by Bottari; by which it would seem, that Michel Angelo once had an intention of placing two figures at each angle.

² While Michel Angelo was superintending the workmen in the quarry, Condivi says, that one day being on the top of a mountain which overlooked the sea, it occurred to his mind to make a colossal figure which might serve as a mark for mariners, to be seen at a distance; and he would certainly have carried his intention into execution, if the pope's monument had not been a work of too much importance to be delayed.

him to the *malaria*.¹ He then returned to Rome, and immediately began to exercise his profession, and exhibit his talents as a sculptor.

The pope had a personal attachment to him, and conversed with him upon every subject as well as sculpture, with familiarity and friendship; and that he might visit him frequently and with perfect convenience, he made a covered bridge from the Vatican palace to his study, to enable him to pass at all times without being observed. This honourable partiality, however, was too apparent not to excite jealousy in those who were dependents on the court; and as jealousy seeks not to partake, but to monopolise favours, he that has distinguished friends can seldom be without secret enemies. Michel Angelo had a high and a just sense of his acknowledged merit, and a constitutional irritability which felt the full value of kindness and attention, but was equally sensible of the slightest change; nor should this feeling be too hastily imputed to pride or irascibility, since it requires but little experience to know, that when esteem begins to decline, all that is valuable in friendship is lost.

It was the constant practice of Michel Angelo, by the pope's particular desire, whenever he had occasion for money, to apply to him in person, that he might not suffer inconvenience from delay. To defray certain expenses incurred by the arrival of a quantity of marble from Carrara, he went to the palace as usual; but that access which had been heretofore almost unrestrained by form, was now embarrassed, and his holiness was not to be seen. As this might have happened from engagements which it did not belong to him to investigate, he only felt the disappointment, and retired. Another morning he repeated his visit, but was rudely interrupted by the person in waiting, who said, "I have an order not to let you enter." A prelate standing by, immediately asked if he knew to whom he was speaking; to which the groom of the chamber replied, "I know him well enough, and it is my duty to obey my orders." Michel Angelo felt with indignation this unmerited disgrace, and in the warmth o

¹ Malaria is the cause of a disease common in the south of Italy, produced by an effluvia from damp and marshy ground acted upon by heat.

resentment desired him to tell the pope, "from this time forward, if his holiness wants me, he shall have to seek me in another place." In the same temper of mind he returned home, and ordered his servants to sell the furniture in his house to the Jews, and follow him to Florence. Himself, the same evening, took post and arrived at Poggibonzi castle, in Tuscany, before he rested, being then completely out of the papal dominions.

The pope was no sooner informed of this hasty measure, than he despatched five couriers with orders to reconduct him to Rome; but he was not overtaken until he was in a foreign state, where their authority was useless. They however delivered the pope's letter to this import. "Immediately return to Rome, on pain of our disgrace." To this mandate the messengers joined their intreaties without effect; and as they had no power to enforce the commands of his holiness, requested him to write an answer, and date it from Poggibonzi, to exempt them from blame in not having executed the commission with which they were intrusted. Although Michel Angelo obstinately refused to return, he readily complied with their request, and the letter is said to have been to this effect:—That being expelled the antechamber of his holiness, conscious of not meriting the disgrace, he had taken the only course left him to pursue, consistent with the preservation of that character which had hitherto rendered him worthy of his confidence. Neither would he return, for if he had been worthless to-day, he could be but of little value to-morrow, unless by the caprice of fortune, which would be neither creditable to his holiness or himself. With a note to this import, dated from Poggibonzi, he dismissed the couriers, and pursued his journey to Florence.

The pope, however, was not satisfied with his answer, and immediately addressed the following letter to the government of Florence.

"Health and apostolic benediction to our dearly beloved. Michel Angelo, who has left us capriciously, and without any reason we have been able to learn, is now in Florence, and remains there in fear of our displeasure, but against whom we have nothing to allege, as we know the humour of men of his stamp. However, that he may lay aside all suspicion,

we invite him with the same affection that you bear towards us; and, if he will return, promise, on our part, he shall be neither touched nor offended, and be reinstated in the same apostolic grace he enjoyed before he left us. Rome, the 8th of July, 1506. III. year of our pontificate."

This letter being rather of the nature of a request than a command, and Michel Angelo not seeming inclined to return, the gonfaloniere thought that his holiness would give himself no further trouble, and the affair would be forgotten; but the sovereign pontiff, whose power had established dominion over the minds and sentiments of mankind, to which all Europe often submitted with implicit obedience, was not so easily disposed to yield up his authority, and this first letter was followed by a second, and a third, of a more decisive character. Soderini then told Michel Angelo, "You have done by the pope what the king of France would not have presumed to do; he must be no longer trifled with, and we cannot make war against his holiness to risk the safety of the state, therefore his will must be obeyed." Michel Angelo, finding himself thus embarrassed, recurred to a proposal, made to him some time before, through the medium of certain friars of the order of St. Francis, to enter into the service of the sultan, to build a bridge between Constantinople and Pera. Soderini, hearing of this project, sent for him to divert his intention. He urged that it was better to die under the pope's displeasure, than to enjoy life with every earthly advantage in the service of the Turk; besides, it was not for him to fear anything from his holiness, who, in his sacred character, was the dispenser of kindness and mercy; yet, if he were at all apprehensive for his security, the government of Florence would send him with the appointment of ambassador, which, by the law of nations, would be inviolate. On this condition, Michel Angelo consented to return.

The ambition of foreign princes, and the discord of contending parties which prevailed in the different forms of government in the northern states of Italy, gave opportunity to the enterprising talents of Julius II. to increase his temporal power. Bologna, which once had the form of a republic, by the fluctuating changes of revolution, governed at one

time by a powerful citizen, and at another by a foreign prince, at length became subject to the holy see; and, in the pontificate of Nicolas V. was added to the ecclesiastical state, under certain limitations, in favour of the Bentivoglio family: progressively, however, the power of the popes declined, and Giovanni Bentivoglio established an absolute sovereignty in his own person. Julius II., by the aid of Louis XII., king of France, who, although obliged to abandon the south of Italy, was still in possession of Milan, determined once more to restore the city, with its dependencies, to the patrimony of St. Peter, and reduce the city of Perugia to obedience; or, in the language of the times, to free it from the tyranny of Gianpagolo Baglioni; who, from a private citizen, became the head of a faction, and trampled on its liberties.

As the reasons for the adoption of such measures as are most favourable to the wishes of men, are often given more with a view to divert than inform the understanding, and contain more plausibility than truth, so Guicciardini asserts, that a powerful motive upon this occasion which induced the pope to attack Bologna, was a private pique against Giovanni Bentivoglio. In the reign of Alexander VI. he was instigated by that pontiff to give orders for the arrest and imprisonment of the cardinal della Rovere, whilst residing in his bishopric at Cento, in the Bolognese territory; from which he only escaped by a timely and precipitate retreat; and, according to that celebrated historian, the zeal and piety of Julius to restore to the apostolic see whatever had been tyrannically taken from it, was only a cloak for his ambition or personal animosity. Be this as it may, on the 26th of August, 1506, he left Rome to achieve his enterprise, placing himself at the head of the army and accompanied by twenty-four cardinals. When he arrived at Orvieto, Baglioni found it most prudent courteously to yield to the authority which it would have been ruinous to resist; and introduced himself to the pope, at once to resign his power and offer him his services. The preliminaries, which were short, and as favourable to Baglioni as might have been expected, put his holiness into immediate possession of Perugia; whence, after making some necessary arrangements for its security, he con-

tinued his march to Imola. Here the pope summoned Bentivoglio to resign his authority; but he had calculated upon resources sufficiently important to make his resistance formidable, and felt no disposition to yield with passive submission. A body of three¹ thousand infantry and six hundred horse marched from Milan, under the command of Sciomonte, nominally to protect the government of Bentivoglio, and oppose the invading enemy; but Louis XII. had preconcerted how his interest might be better served by attaching himself to the sovereign of the church; and as, in his treacherous conspiracy with Ferdinand of Arragon, he had given sufficient proof of how little value he considered the obligations which are essential to the *being* of society in common life; so, upon this occasion, the troops which were given to Bentivoglio for his defence, by a secret treaty were devoted to the service of Julius. Under these circumstances, all prospect of resistance was hopeless; and with little choice what line of conduct to pursue, he privately quitted Bologna with his family, and retired into the Milanese. The city being left to itself, no difficulties remained to give his holiness complete possession, and on St. Martin's day (Nov. 11) he made his entry with great pomp.

Being now at Bologna, enjoying the advantages of his enterprise, and at peace with the inhabitants, the gonfaloniere considered it a favourable opportunity for Michel Angelo to make his peace also with the pope, and his brother, the cardinal Soderini, was willing to undertake the mediation. Michel Angelo acceded to the proposition, and immediately went to Bologna to avail himself of its probable advantages. When he arrived, the cardinal was unfortunately indisposed, and he deputed a monsignore of his household to officiate in his stead, and introduce him to his holiness, who was then residing in the government palace. As Michel Angelo entered the presence-chamber, the pope gave him an askance look of displeasure, and after a short pause saluted him—"In the stead of your coming to us, you seem to have expected that we should attend upon you." Michel Angelo replied with submission, that his error arose from

¹ Guicciardini, Storia d'Italia, lib. vii.

too hastily feeling a disgrace he was unconscious of meriting, and hoped his holiness would pardon what was past. The monsignore standing by, not thinking this a sufficient apology, endeavoured to extenuate his conduct, by saying, that great allowance was to be made for such men, who were ignorant of everything but their art; the pope hastily replied, with warmth, "Thou hast vilified him, which I have not; thou art an ignorant fellow, and no man of genius; get out of my sight;" upon which one of the attendants immediately pushed him out of the room. The pope then gave Michel Angelo his benediction, and restored him to his friendship; and desired he would not quit Bologna till he had given him a commission for some work of art; and in a few days, he ordered a colossal statue of himself to be made in bronze.

During the pope's stay, Michel Angelo employed himself in making the model, enjoying his friendship, and honoured as formerly with his frequent visits. The air and attitude of the statue is said to have been grand, austere, and majestic; in one of the visits he received from his holiness, the pope, making his observations and remarks with his accustomed familiarity, asked if the extended right arm was bestowing a blessing, or a curse on the people? "La benedizione o la maledizione?" To which Michel Angelo replied, "The action is only meant to be hostile to disobedience;" and then asked his holiness, whether he would not have a book put into the other hand? To which the pope facetiously replied, "No, a sword would be more adapted to my character; I am no book-man."

His holiness left Bologna at the end of February, 1507, intrusting the government of the city to cardinal Regino. Michel Angelo remained to finish the statue, which he completed in sixteen months, and placed it in the façade of the church of St. Petronio; and at the end of June, 1508, returned to Rome.

The thirst of power, with little attention to the means by which it was acquired or maintained, sullied and degraded the most conspicuous characters exhibited in the history of these times. The Venetians, being more prudent and prosperous, and more united in their councils, than their neighbours, were feared, or hated, by all the powers in Europe.

and the celebrated league of Cambray was for no other purpose than to make a partition of their territory, and reduce their government to ruin and dissolution; but heterogeneous bodies seldom unite to accomplish any one great end; inequality of power, of interest, or ability, have a constant tendency to detach the parts of which it is composed. To retain the possession of Bologna, and to add Romagna to the dominion of the church, induced Julius II. to enter into this confederacy. When this object was obtained, he withdrew from the league, and changed his politics as seemed best adapted to secure his possessions; but he miscalculated his strength, and Bologna, which, by the assistance of Louis XII., was made subject to the holy see in 1506, was retaken by his arms in 1511, and the Bentivoglio family restored to their influence and authority.

Upon this event, the pope became a fit object for popular clamour to insult, and for the extravagance of faction to mark its own disgrace, by pusillanimous resentment. His bronze statue was therefore thrown down, dragged about the streets, broken to pieces, and destroyed. The mutilated fragments were afterwards sent to the duke of Ferrara, who cast them into a piece of ordnance, to which he gave the name of Giulio, except the head,¹ which, being entire, he preserved in his museum. Muratori says, this statue was set up at the expense of five thousand ducats, and gave rise to the following satirical lines of Piero Valeriano:—

Quo quo tam trepidus fugis Viator

Ac si te Furiaæve, Gorgonesve,

Aut acer Basiliscus insequantur?

—Non hic JULIUS—at figura JULII est!

On the arrival of Michel Angelo at Rome, he expected to have proceeded with the monument which he had left, but

¹ The loss of this statue is greatly to be regretted; it is described to have been nearly ten feet high (five braccia), and was destroyed on the 30th of December, 1511. I have never seen any print or representation of it. The head, which was preserved entire, the duke of Ferrara is said to have put an inestimable value upon; which is an honourable testimony of his *virtù*, as it was not probable he could have had any affection for the person whom it was meant to represent. After the death of Alfonso, what became of this fragment is not known.

the pope had changed his mind, and now determined, instead of prosecuting that work, to decorate with pictures the ceiling and walls of the Sistine chapel, to honour the memory of his uncle, Sixtus IV. This was no sooner proposed to Michel Angelo, than he felt the disappointment, and made every possible objection to engage in the undertaking; being solicitous to execute his great work of sculpture, and fearful to hazard his reputation on a new employment, where his want of practice and experience necessarily diminished his hope of success. Among other arguments, he urged that fresco-painting was not his profession, and recommended his holiness to give the commission to Raffaello, in whose hands it would do honour to them both. The pope, however, was predetermined; and his determinations were not easily set aside, so that each objection seemed only to be an additional incentive to fix his will more firmly; perceiving, therefore, that it was useless to contend, he prudently yielded to his authority.

The causes which operated to induce the pope to abandon or suspend the execution of his monument, have not been satisfactorily given. Bramante is particularly charged with having used his influence with the pope, during Michel Angelo's absence in Bologna, to divert his attention from prosecuting the design. The known partiality of Julius to works of sculpture, in preference to painting and architecture, is said to have excited the jealousy of Bramante, lest Michel Angelo might have too great an ascendancy in the Vatican, so as to interfere with his own reputation and the confidence which was reposed in him as the architect of St. Peter's: but a still more plausible ground is said to have influenced his mind—the success of Raffaello—who was his relation, and but recently introduced to court. Another reason is also given, more subtle in its plan and indirect in its application. As Michel Angelo was known never to have painted a single figure in fresco, the employing him in so great a work, to which he must have been reasonably supposed inadequate, would be a mean of striking at his high reputation, and his want of success a foil to give additional lustre to the works which Raffaello was then painting in the Vatican.¹

¹ Vasari, tom. iii., p. 219. Condivi, sec. xxxiii.

If the wiles of detraction were not as various as the imagination, such an opinion could never have been credited. That Bramante was not on terms of friendship with Michel Angelo, there is every reason to believe; but as a portrait of an enemy is never the portrait of the man, considerable abatement must be made for party-prejudice and the irritation of wounded feelings. Whatever were the causes of this new arrangement, they are buried in oblivion; and it would be now hopeless to inquire, whether they ought to be attributed to individual caprice, or the machinations of those who wished to injure the sculptor in the esteem of his patron.

The Sistine chapel was built by Sixtus IV., and the walls ornamented with historical paintings by various masters. These pictures were to be effaced, and the entire chapel to be painted by Michel Angelo, so as to correspond in its parts, and make one uniform whole.¹

It being now decided that he must make an attempt to execute this great undertaking, he commenced the cartoons; and the architect of St. Peter's had orders to construct a scaffolding for the work to be painted in fresco. When the scaffolding was finished, he found it extremely objectionable, and in particular from certain holes pierced in the ceiling for cords to pass through to suspend part of the machinery. He asked the architect how the ceiling could be completed if they were suffered to remain? To which he answered, It was impossible to avoid making them, and the remedy must be a subsequent consideration. This created a dispute, and Michel Angelo represented it to the pope as a defect which might have been avoided, if he had better understood the principles of mechanism. His holiness therefore gave him permission to take it down, and erect another in its stead. He then designed and constructed one so complete, that Bramante afterwards adopted it in the building of St. Peter's, and is most probably that simple and admirable piece of machinery now used in Rome whenever there is occasion for scaffolding to repair or construct the interior of public buildings. This in-

¹ The pictures that ornamented the chapel were painted by Luca Signorelli, Pietro Perugino, Sandro Botticelli, Cosimo Roselli, and Domenico Ghirlandaio, and still remain to decorate the walls of the Sistine chapel, as the death of Julius prevented the completion of the original design.

vention Michel Angelo gave to the poor man whom he employed as his carpenter, and, from the commissions he received for making others on the same construction, he realized a small fortune.¹

Michel Angelo never having painted in fresco, when the cartoons were finished, he sent to Florence and engaged such persons as were experienced in that branch of the art; but, from the first specimen of their abilities, their efforts proved so little satisfactory, that he determined to try how far he could himself overcome the difficulties which made it necessary for him to seek their aid. Without giving them any previous notice, he locked himself in the chapel, destroyed their work, and commenced painting, without suffering any one either to assist or interrupt him.²

As in the execution of great works all the circumstances connected with their progress are interesting, it may gratify curiosity to know that the subject of the Deluge on the ceiling, was the picture on which he first made trial of his powers in fresco painting. This picture was no sooner finished than obscured by a mist, which so disconcerted Michel Angelo, that he went to the pope, and desired he might be suffered entirely to relinquish the undertaking; as, to contend with embarrassments which he saw no means of removing, would not only render his exertion useless, but produce mutual dissatisfaction and disappointment. His holiness, who was determined not to be foiled in his original design, attended to every objection with wary suspicion; he therefore ordered San Gallo, who was in his confidence and esteem, to investigate the causes of the defect, and make his report. San Gallo was a skilful architect, of many accomplishments, and well versed in various branches of knowledge. When he saw the picture, he explained the cause to arise from the plaster being made too wet. This being easily avoided, Michel Angelo then proceeded with his work, and no other defect of any importance connected with his own inexperience prevented or impeded his progress.³

¹ By his gains, Condivi says, he was enabled to give marriage portions with his daughters.

² Vasari, tom. iii., p. 221.

³ Tarras mortar, well known in England, when kept wet, and moist

As the work advanced, the pope frequently visited him in the chapel, and ascended the ladder to the top of the scaffolding, where Michel Angelo lent him his hand that he might get with safety on the platform. Notwithstanding this daily opportunity of indulging an eager curiosity, his holiness grew impatient to see the general effect, as far as it was advanced; and, to pacify the natural impetuosity of his temper, all the machinery was removed before half the ceiling was completed. To gratify the curiosity of a patron in a premature exhibition, is often a hazardous experiment; but fortunately this was attended with no disappointment. The pope was perfectly satisfied, and all men of taste and virtù so eagerly pressed forward to avail themselves of the opportunity, that they crowded into the chapel before the dust, occasioned by the taking down of the scaffolding, had subsided.

The rivals and enemies of Michel Angelo, if any there were, who hoped to see his genius reduced to a level with their own, were now disappointed; nevertheless the architect of St. Peter's was accused of unworthily condescending to use his influence to circumscribe his fame, by secretly soliciting the pope to permit Raffaello to paint the other half of the ceiling, that he might share the honour of the undertaking. Of this surreptitious proceeding Michel Angelo had immediate intimation, and appealed to the pope in the presence of Bramante himself, to justify his claim to the completion of a work which he had so successfully begun. The pope, however, was so perfectly satisfied with that part of the chapel already executed, that he was not to be swayed by any undue influence; and with the most satisfactory assurances of his esteem and confidence, desired him to proceed without a partner, and without interruption.

After the curiosity of Rome was satisfied, he resumed his work, and with the most persevering assiduity continued till

favourable to its cementing principle, throws out a substance something like the stony conerescences in caverns of limestone strata, called stalactites; which substance comes to a considerable degree of hardness, and in time so exuberant as to deform the face of the wall. The terra pazzolana, in common use in Italy, is much of the same quality with this earth, and the cruciation on the ceiling of the Sistine chapel was probably of the same nature.

it was finished. The ceiling, which is coved, he ornamented with architectural decorations painted in *chiar'-oscu*ro, and separated into numerous divisions. The flat space at the top he divided into nine compartments, each containing a subject from the Old Testament, in the following order—

The Deity dividing the light from the darkness, may be considered as the first in the local arrangement; the second picture represents a personification of the Deity, with extended arms, creating the Sun and Moon, and in the same compartment creating and fructifying the earth; in the third space the Deity is supposed to be looking down upon the waters, commanding them to be a habitable deep; the fourth is the creation of Adam, in which the omnipotent power is surrounded by angels, extending his right arm as if imparting the vital principle to the created form; the fifth is the creation of Eve; the sixth, the loss of Paradise; the seventh, the sacrifice by Cain and Abel; the eighth, the Deluge; and the ninth represents the inebriation and exposure of Noah. Beneath the *chiar'-oscu*ro entablature, which divides the coved from the flat part of the ceiling, are arranged forty-eight infantine figures, standing two and two on pedestals, in diversified attitudes, supporting the cornice as caryatides; and between them are seated twelve colossal figures of prophets and sybils, alternately arranged.¹ Over the windows, in compartments called lunettes, are fourteen compositions, and an equal number of tablets, inscribed with names expressing the genealogy of Christ; and in triangular spaces, produced by the thickness of the wall immediately over the lunettes, are introduced eight compositions of domestic subjects. In the

¹ The Sybils, who were the virgin prophetesses of antiquity, are affirmed by St. Augustin, Eusebius, and the fathers of the primitive church, to have foretold the birth of Christ. Libyca is said to have prophesied, "The day shall come when men shall see the King of all living things." Cumæa, "That God shall be born of a virgin, and converse among sinners." Delphica announced that "A Prophet should be born of a virgin." Erythræa, who was a Babylonian, is said to have foretold a great part of the Christian religion in certain verses recorded by Eusebius, the first letters of which being put together, make the

angles at the four extreme corners of the ceiling are represented the miracle of the brazen serpent, the execution of Haman, the death of Goliath, and the treachery of Judith. Besides these various compositions, are ten medallions with historical subjects, and more than fifty single figures disposed of as ornamental accompaniments to the general design.

From the commencement to the conclusion of this stupendous monument of human genius, twenty months were only employed. So short a time for the completion of so vast a work could hardly be credited, if it were not more difficult to refuse the testimony on which it is supported, than to doubt the fact. Nevertheless, the pope harassed its progress with impatience; for he was an old man; and as his designs, of whatever nature they might be, were always planned with the enthusiasm of youth, so they were hastened with a consciousness of his having no time to lose. To comply, therefore, with the eager desire of his patron, Michel Angelo removed the scaffolding before he had put the last finish to his work; and on All Saints' day, in the year 1512, the chapel was opened; and the pope officiated at high mass to a crowded and admiring audience.

After this solemnity, and the public curiosity was gratified, the pope willingly consented that the pictures should be retouched where he wished to improve them; but, on considering the inconvenience of re-erecting the scaffolding, he declined doing anything more, and said that what was wanting was not of material importance; the pope observed, they ought to be ornamented with gold, to give a characteristic splendour to the chapel; to which Michel Angelo replied: "In those days gold was not worn, and the cha-

words, 'Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour;' these verses were translated into Latin by St. Augustin. Persica foretold that, "The womb of the Virgin should be the salvation of the Gentiles." These were the opinions of the divines and schoolmen of later times, who gave them a place among the prophets of the sacred writings, and this is the reason of their being alternately introduced with them in the ceiling of the Sistine chapel. Besides these five, believed by the ancients to have been inspired by Jupiter, there were five others of the same credit and authority, Albanus, Cumana, Hellespontiacus, Samis, and Tibertina.

acters I have painted were neither rich nor desirous of wealth, but holy men, with whom gold was an object of contempt." The repartee was happy, and with respect to his own works, he felt the importance of a truth best known in an age of simplicity, that the mind, and not the material, is the true basis of future fame.

The ceiling being finished, he applied himself to make designs and studies for other pictures for the sides of the chapel, to complete the original plan; but, on the 21st of February, 1513, the pope died, and to Michel Angelo his loss was not supplied.

The talents of Julius II. have been usually balanced against the violence of his temper and want of due decorum in his apostolical character, so as to leave nothing to envy or commend; yet it is acknowledged, that if he had been a temporal prince, the most distinguished honours would not have been denied him.¹ He had courage enough to rank with the brave,² and views sufficiently comprehensive to satiate ambition; but the milder virtues, subject to moderation, he either found inadequate to his purpose, or did not feel their worth. He was by nature fitted for sovereignty; but knew not how to increase the patrimony of St. Peter by treading in his steps. To be a good man, is all that the good desire of others; but to be great, is what each

¹ *Vide Guicciardini*, lib. xl. "Francis I. also gave an honourable testimony to the skill and courage of Julius as a soldier, in a declaration he made to Leo X. to extenuate his having borne arms against the head of the church in the reign of his predecessor."—"Holy father, wonder not that all were hostile to Pope Julius, since he himself was to all most hostile. In our time there was not a more terrible enemy in war than he, who, indeed, was a most expert captain, and was more fitted to be the leader of an army than the head of the Roman church." Paris de Grassis has recorded this declaration, which took place at one of the public interviews of Leo X. and Francis I., at Bologna, where he was present as master of the ceremonies to the pope,

² At the siege of Mirandola (21 Jan. 1511), Julius, at the head of his troops, fearlessly exposed himself to the fire of the enemy in planning the order of attack, and was present in every important situation of danger; before the town could formally capitulate, he mounted the scaling ladder, and entered it, sword in hand, through the breach he had made.—*Muratori, Annal d'Italia*.

desires for himself; unfortunately, in the political economy of states, to combine these qualities is difficult and often impossible, since men, by common consent, separate virtue from talents, and bestow the highest praise on triumphant power, whatever be its aim or end. He encouraged and protected genius, not from ostentation, but a desire to elevate the human character above its common standard; and though involved in war and political contest during the whole of his short reign, sufficient evidence remains of his fostering care; and as long as the works of Bramante, Raffaello, and Michel Angelo, partake of the admiration of mankind, Julius II. will have a just claim to gratitude and esteem.

A short time before his death, he desired that his monument might be finished, and left it to the care of cardinal Santi Quattro, and to his nephew, cardinal Aginense. After his death, however, the cardinal-nephew calculated the expense, and his arithmetic was conclusive: the original design of the mausoleum was therefore laid aside, and Michel Angelo received instructions to make another, on a limited scale, and at a stipulated price.

Sensible of the loss he had sustained, and warm with the feelings of gratitude and friendship, he eagerly commenced his new undertaking, and employed such assistance as could forward its progress, hoping to have no interruption; but Leo X., who succeeded to the pontificate, disturbed his plan. This magnificent potentate, whose reign makes an era in the intellectual acquirements of modern times, upon his accession to the papal throne, professed the same warmth of attachment, and the same zeal to promote the talents of Michel Angelo as his predecessor. That his abilities might be employed to the honour of his native city, Leo wished him to return to Florence to build the façade of the church of S. Lorenzo, which remained unfinished from the time of his grandfather, Cosmo de' Medici. The stipulation Michel Angelo had made with the cardinals to execute the monument of his patron, Julius II. he stated to the pope as an engagement which it was not in his power either to rescind or pro-

and therefore hoped to be excused from undertaking a commission which would necessarily interfere with it. He had so earnest a desire to devote all his attention to this work, that he was happy in having so good a reason to prevent his being diverted from it ; but reason, which may be conclusive between individuals under the same circumstances, is seldom of equal importance when there is not the same necessity to abide by its determination : hence the cardinals were requested to suspend their claims, which it was not for them to refuse,¹ and Michel Angelo was obliged, though reluctantly, to obey the will of the reigning pontiff.

As soon as he arrived in Florence he made his arrangements for executing the façade, and went to Carrara to order the marble which might be necessary, and also such as he should want for the monument of Julius, that in Florence no part of his time might be unemployed. At this period the pope received information that good marble was to be obtained in the mountains of Pietra Santa,² in the Florentine state, equal in quality to that of the quarries of Carrara; and while Michel Angelo was there, he received a letter from his holiness, desiring that he would go to Pietra Santa and ascertain how far this information was correct. He obeyed his orders, and, in a short time after, sent him the result of his investigation, which did not prove so favourable as had been represented to his holiness. The marble was more difficult to work, and of inferior quality; added to which, there was no practical means of conveying it to Florence, without making a road of many miles to the sea through mountains, to be cut at a considerable expense, and over marshes which would require to be traversed with fascines and rafts to make them passable. These objections, however, made but a slight impression on the pope, compared with the advantages he

¹ As some consolation to the cardinals, the pope told them that Michel Angelo might forward the monument at Florence; but this indulgence afforded little satisfaction to them, and still less to Michel Angelo. "It was to the great dissatisfaction of the cardinals and of Michel Angelo, the latter of whom wept when he departed."—*Vasari*, tom. iii. p. 232.

² Pietra Santa was the name of a castle, which gave this distinctive appellation to the mountains in its neighbourhood.

anticipated from obtaining so valuable a material in a territory which he could at any time call his own. Michel Angelo was therefore desired to proceed; and it is a mortifying reflection, that the talents of this great man should have been buried in these mountains, and his time consumed, during the whole reign of Leo X., in little else than in raising stone out of a quarry, and making a road to convey it to the sea.

As the reign of Leo X.¹ is an entire blank in the life of Michel Angelo, it may not be irrelevant to the present subject to consider the taste and patronage of that illustrious branch of the house of Medici, which is supposed so materially to have contributed to the splendour of his pontificate. The golden days of Leo have long been a dictum in Europe. His claims to the bright era in which he lived have been variously estimated. By some it has been asserted, that he only contributed his share to the advancement of intellect; whilst by others he has been represented as the sole cause of the literature and refinement of his age. Eight years and as many months must be confessed to be a very limited duration for all the fame that has been conceded to him:—genius may be fostered and protected whenever it appears, industry rewarded, and institutions established for the promotion of knowledge; but knowledge itself is of too slow a growth to be matured from any germs in so short a time: nevertheless, in the splendour of his reign, all progression is lost sight of, and we are dazzled with rays concentrated in himself, and dispensing their influence to all around. No comment, however, is necessary to show that grandeur and power, when only employed with ordinary discretion, have ever had supreme ascendancy over the opinions of mankind. A little good done by him who can do much harm, is usually magnified by our hopes and fears; and the smiles of those who can frown to our destruction, have always been regarded with peculiar satisfaction and recorded with delight. To this charm, much of the praise of Leo is to be attributed, which dignified, in

¹ Leo X. was elected to the pontificate on the 11th of March 1513, and died on the 1st of December, 1521, having reigned eight months, and nineteen days.

prose and verse, events that would have conferred no distinction on the obscurity of private life.¹

When Leo ascended the papal throne, the arts in Rome were at their meridian; he found greater talents than he employed, and greater works commenced than he completed. Those men who have been for succeeding ages the admiration of mankind, Leonardo da Vinci, Michel Angelo, and Raffaello, performed their greatest works, on which their immortality has found a permanent

¹ Vide *Antiquaria*, a Latin poem by Andrea Fulvius, in two books, which M. Fabroni, in his life of Leo X., has made us acquainted with. Mr. Roscoe also mentions a Latin poem by Valeriano, praising Leo with hyperbole, and anguring his future glory, for having cleared away some brambles on an island in the Tiber, exposing the remains of its original fortification, constructed in the form of a Roman galley. When speaking on this subject, the historian of the house of Medici has been led into a slight mistake, by supposing the discovery of this galley to be a piece of sculpture dug up in the island; the whole island having been made, in its fortification, to represent the vessel sent to Greece to implore the protection of Æsculapius in the destructive plague of 462, A.U.C., and from the succeeding fable, which is well known, the island itself was dedicated to that deity. On the side of this galley were, most probably, sculptured some emblematical devices; as that part which remains, and was discovered by the cardinal de' Medici, has, in high relief, an Æsculapian rod and a bull's head, and may be now seen from a boat in the middle of the stream which separates the island from the left bank of the river.

Leo X. also placed a porphyry sarcophagus, now containing the remains of Clement XII., in the church of S Giovanni in Laterano, under the portico of the Pantheon, which is commemorated by the following inscription:

LEO X. PONT. MAX. PROVIDENTISS. PRINCEPS
VAN ELEGANTISSIMUM EX LAPIDE NUMIDICO
NE POLLUTUM NEGLIGENTIE SORDIBUS
OBOLESCERET IN HUNC MODUM REPONI
EXORNARIQUE JUSSIT.

Upon his elevation to the pontificate, he removed the group of the Laocoon to the Vatican, and in exchange for the annuity conferred upon the person who discovered it, he gave him the appointment of apostolic lottery. "Thus," says his biographer, "the encouragement afforded to those who devoted themselves to these inquiries gave new vigour to their researches. The production of a genuine specimen of antiquity secured to the fortunate possessor a competency for life, and the acquisition of a fine statue was almost equivalent to a bishopric."

The group of the Laocoon was discovered in the year 1506, in a recess in the ruins of the baths of Titus, where most probably it stood in the time of Pliny, who has described it to be there in the reign of

basis, before the accession of Leo X.; and Bramante, the architect of St. Peter's, died in the second year of his pontificate. Leonardo da Vinci and Michel Angelo are acknowledged not to have felt the influence of his favours; and for the magnificence of the state-chambers in the Vatican, posterity is indebted to the pontificate of Julius II. The two rooms painted by Raffaello himself, on which, as a painter, his reputation most depends, were nearly completed in that reign.¹

that emperor. The name of the discoverer was one Felice de Fredis, and this inscription on his tomb perpetuates his claim to our obligation.

"Felici de Fredis,
Qui ob proprias virtutes,
Et repertum Laſcoontis divinum quæd
In Vaticano cernes ferè
Respirans simulacrum
Immortalitatem meruit,
Anno Domini MDXXVIII."

For this discovery Julius II. granted to Felice de' Fredis the tolls, duties, and customs, which were received at the gate of S. Giovanni in Laterano; but as these duties would seem previously to have belonged to the church of S. Giovanni, Leo restored them to the church, of which, it is to be remarked, he was in a peculiar manner the head, as bishop of Rome, and in lieu of them, conferred upon Fredis the office of apostolic notary; but as this commutation appears to merit no particular encomium, I will give the original words, as related by Winckelman in his *Storia delle arti*, lest I may have been mistaken in their import. "Ho trovato in una relazione manoscritta, degna di fede, che papa Giulio II. diede a Felice de' Fredis, e a suoi figliuoli introitum et portionem gabellæ Porta S. Johannis Lateranensis, in premio d'avere scoperto il Laſcoonte; e che Leon X. restituendo queste rendite alla chiesa de S. Giov. Laterano, assegnò loro in vece officium Scriptoriæ Apostolicæ, con un breve in data dei Novembre. 1517."

¹ The first room was finished in the year 1511, and the second was completed in 1514. Of the pictures in this room Raffaello had painted the Miracle of Bolsena and the Death of Heliodorus, and appears to have been painting the subject of the Retreat of Attila when Julius II. died, which may be conjectured from this circumstance. In this picture, the portrait of cardinal Giovanni de' Medici is introduced as an attendant in the pontifical group, and again as pope; so that there now remain two portraits of Leo X., one as a cardinal, and another as the supremè head of the church, which is not likely to have happened but from the death of Julius II. taking place after the portrait of the cardinal de' Medici

Nevertheless, Leo X. derives his strongest claims as a patron of art from his attachment to Raffaello; and an author of reputation of our own times¹ has said, that under his patronage the works commenced in the chambers of the Vatican proceeded with increased ardour. I should be happy to concur in the same opinion, but all the facts I am acquainted with, lead me to a different conclusion. The first room under Julius II. was begun in the year 1508, and finished in 1511; the second was completed in 1514; and the third, consisting of only four pictures painted by his scholars, took up an equal time. When compared with either of the former apartments, these must have cost Raffaello but little of his own labour, it being very evident, from the manner in which they are executed, that he could only have made the cartoons; and from respect to his old master, Pietro Perugino, the ceiling was suffered to remain, which in the other rooms consist of eight historical and allegorical subjects, besides an equal number on a small scale, combined with a rich display of grotesque and arabesque ornament. The Hall of Constantine, completing this suite of apartments, was left to be finished from his designs, he having painted only two single figures of Mercy and Justice. That he was otherwise much employed, and had almost monopolized the court favour, there can be no doubt; but after the completion of the two first rooms, it is very uncertain whether he himself ever painted more than

was painted, and before his own was inserted, that compliment having been attended to in the two former pictures.

It is further to be remarked, that in fresco, no part of the work can be obliterated by painting over it, as with oil colours; the plaster must be taken down, and fresh put in its place, before any design can be substituted for one already painted. Raffaello, however, it is very evident, never meant originally to have introduced this group at all; and its inaptness to the general composition may be considered as a sacrifice of his better taste to that boon which patrons expect from men of genius. The group which supplied its place in the first design, was composed of figures on horseback and on foot, in character with the action and general interest of the composition. The original drawing I have seen in the gallery of the Louvre in Paris.

¹ European Library: Roscoe's Life and Pontificate of Leo X., vol. ii.

three single figures in the palace;¹ and his works in the Vatican after that time are executed more in the spirit of a manufactory, than with the taste and feeling of a painter; which gave rise to the opinion of Mengs, that Raffaello in the reign of Leo X. was not the same painter as Raffaello in the pontificate of Julius II.

Whether Leo X. had really a refined taste for works of art, it is not easy to determine; but this is known, that Raffaello made many cartoons of religious subjects to complete the decoration of the Sistine chapel,² which were sent by the pope into Flanders, to be returned in worsted copies, without any care to preserve the original works, which were executed by Raffaello's own hand. No inquiry was made concerning them after the subjects were manufactured in tapestry: by accident, however, seven are yet to be seen in this country, by which, according to our own judgment, we may still be enabled to estimate that of the pontiff.³

Whether Leonardo da Vinci visited Rome in the pontificate of Leo seems doubtful; but if he did not, it is more than probable he was not invited; and if he did, it is quite certain he executed no commission for the pope. The powers of this great man so far surpassed the ordinary standard of human genius, that he cannot be judged of by the common data by which it is usual to estimate the capacity of the human mind. He was a phenomenon that overstepped the bounds in every department of knowledge which limited the researches of his predecessors; and whether he is to be regarded for his accomplishments or his vast attainments, whether as the philosopher or the

¹ The two figures of Justice and Mercy in the Hall of Constantine, and the figure of the woman carrying water to extinguish the fire in the "Incendio del Borgo."

² Seventeen of these cartoons have been engraved; but Vasari makes no mention of their original number, nor enumerates the subjects: neither does he accurately define the place they were intended to decorate. In his *Life of Marc' Antonio*, he says, they were made for the pope's chapel, which I conjecture to be the chapel of Sixtus, as the only one in the Vatican fit for their reception.

³ These arras pictures were richly ornamented with gold and floss silk, and cost the pope seventy thousand crowns

painter who made a new era in the arts of design, he equally surprises our judgment, and enlarges our sphere of comprehension; and it must ever be a subject of sincere regret, that he, who could successfully contend with Michel Angelo, and who painted the Last Supper in the refectory of the Dominicans at Milan, should not have been known in Rome, by any display of his powers, in the golden days of Leo X.

To seek for reasons why Michel Angelo was not more fortunately employed during this reign, might afford a wide field of speculation. The attachment of this pope to the arts, proceeded rather from their importance to the pomp, and show of power, which was the delight of his mind, than from a more noble feeling of their worth; and it is sufficiently satisfactory to account for his indifference and procrastination, to know, that wars, alliances, and subsidies, exhausted his treasury, and that the money was spent which was to have been appropriated to the façade of S. Lorenzo. At the death of Leo this part of the building was not advanced beyond its foundation, and the time of Michel Angelo was consumed in making a road, in seeing that five columns were made at the quarry of Pietra Santa, in conducting them to the sea-side, and in transporting one of them to Florence. This employment, with occasionally making some models in wax, and some trifling designs for the interior of a room in the Medici palace, appears to have been all the benefit that was derived from his talents during the whole of this pontificate. As the patronage of the great often depends upon the character of the man, as well as upon his genius, it has been supposed that the independent spirit which resisted the impetuosity of Julius II. was ill-calculated to conciliate the accomplished manners of Leo X.: however this may have been, there appears no evidence that Michel Angelo ever refused submission to his will, or opposed his authority with disrespect:¹ but as

¹ Upon this point I feel particular regret in differing from the author of the *Life of Leo X.*, who, in vindicating the conduct of the pope, apologizes for Michel Angelo's perverseness of temper: "Genius resembles a proud steed, that, whilst he obeys the slightest touch of the kind hand of a master, revolts at the first indication of compulsion and of restraint :

the surest way to every man's feelings is through his heart, it is easy to conceive that he was not likely to have the affections of a prince in whose mind there was no congeniality of sentiment with his own.

The attention of Leo to men of letters seems not at all to have overstepped the character of his times. Guicciardini had risen into fame and distinction before his reign,

every incident became a cause of contention between the artist and his patron. Michel Angelo preferred the marble of Carrara; the pope directed him to open the quarries of Pietra Santa, in the territories of Florence, the material of which was of a hard and intractable kind. The artist had called on the envoy of the pope for a sum of money, and finding him engaged, had not only refused to wait for it, but when it was sent after him to Carrara, had rejected it with contempt. Under these discouraging circumstances the proposed building made but little progress. The ardour of the pontiff was chilled by the cold reluctance of the artist."—*The Life and Pontificate of Leo X.*, vol. ii.

That Michel Angelo did not like to be employed in the quarries of Pietra Santa, for marble but little adapted to his purpose when obtained, is very easily to be conceived; but he obeyed. With respect to his contemptuous conduct towards the pope's envoy, it does not appear that Michel Angelo refused to take the money sent after him to Carrara in any other way than by refusing to give a receipt, which he said he was not accustomed to do when he received money for others as an agent; and the person who was sent with it, fearing he might give offence by adhering too rigidly to his instructions, left the money without a receipt. "Jacopo Salviati hearing of the arrival of Michel Angelo, and not finding him in Florence, sent him the thousand crowns to Carrara. The messenger asked for a receipt, but Michel said that the money was on account of the pope, and not on his own, and that if he did not choose to leave the money without a receipt, he might take it back, for he never gave receipts or acquittances for other people. The messenger, fearing he should otherwise do wrong, hereupon left the money without acknowledgment, and returned to Jacopo."—*Vasari*, tom. iii. p. 233.

Although it should appear that Michel Angelo was not very well pleased with Salviati, yet in this transaction the pope does not seem to have made any part, and probably never heard of the dispute between Michel Angelo and Salviati's servant, for he continued at Carrara executing the commissions for which he was sent, when he received a letter from Leo to go and examine the newly discovered quarries at Pietra Santa; where he afterwards, in obedience to the pope's will, spent a great part of his time during the pontificate, notwithstanding it was an employment the most adverse to his feelings. Leo not only kept him in this situation, doing nothing which could be of any service to himself or the state, but refused him permission to make a monument to honour the poet Dante, which he voluntarily offered to execute free of expense, to be placed in S. Maria Nuova, in Florence

and without any assistance from the Medici family. The great Venetian general, Bartolommeo D'Alviano, who, amidst the tumults of war, and the incessant occupation of an active military profession, has the honour of having in his train three of the greatest Latin poets of modern times; Andrea Navagero,¹ Girolamo Fracastoro,² and Giovanni Cotta;³ and Ferdinand, king of Naples, and his unfortunate sons, Alfonso and Federigo, have the fame of being the patrons of Sanazzaro. Paulo Giovio was the Livy of Leo X., and was rewarded accordingly with a pension and with honours: but if he merits the praise of ingenuity as a writer, he deserves eternal censure for the profligacy of his principles as an historian; and he has even taken care to avow these principles himself, as if to prevent others the trouble of discovering them in his writings, of which this extract from one of his letters may serve as an example:—“A history should be faithful, and matters of fact should not be trifled with, except by a certain latitude, which allows all writers, by ancient privilege, to aggravate or extenuate the faults of those on whom they treat; and, on the other hand, to elevate or depreciate their virtues. I should, indeed, be in a strange situation, if my friends and patrons owed me no obligation, when I make a piece of their own coin weigh one-half more than that of the illiberal and worthless. You know by this sacred privilege, I have decorated some with rich brocade, and have deservedly wrapt up others in coarse dowlas. Woe to them who provoke my anger; for if they make me the mark for their arrows, I shall bring out my heavy artillery, and try who will have the worst of it. At all events, they will die;

¹ Andrea Navagero was born of a patrician family, at Venice, in the year 1483, and from his childhood gave indications of that extraordinary proficiency which he afterwards attained. See a very interesting account of this author in the *Life and Pontificate of Leo X.*, vol. ii.

² Girolamo Fracastoro is supposed to have been born in the same year with Navagero, and his celebrated poem, entitled, *Syphilis, sive de Morbo Gallico*, has long ranked him among the first poets of modern times.

³ The poems of Cotta are printed in a scarce volume of the *Carmina, v. illustrium Poetarum, scilicet, Petri Bembi, And. Navagerii, Balth. Castellioni, Joannis Cottæ et M. Ant. Flamini Ven. Valgrisi*, 1548, 8vo.

and I shall at least escape, after death, that *ultima linea* of all controversies.”¹ Several other passages might be cited from his letters, in which he openly acknowledges the venality of his writings, and accounts for his temporary silence, because he found no one to bribe him.² It is said that he boasted he had two pens, one of iron and the other of gold, which he made use of as occasion required; and it is certain that the latter, his *penna d'oro*, is frequently mentioned in his letters. But the greatest blemish in his writings, and which has not sufficiently incurred the reprehension of his numerous critics, is the defective or perverted morality with which they abound.

Pietro Aretino had also the good fortune to be rewarded by the sovereign pontiff with money to a princely amount. A man of detestable ingenuity,—whose indecent and abominable writings it would be as disgusting to examine, as it would be tiresome to peruse those long and tedious pieces on religious subjects, by which he most probably sought to counterbalance, in the public opinion, the profaneness of his other productions.³ Such are the facts and the account given us of these two men by the biographer of Leo X.

That Leo was often more fortunate in his patronage it is sincerely to be hoped; and his encouragement of Vida ought not to be forgotten, although we have no distinct knowledge how he advanced his reputation or his fortune. When he was introduced by the bishop of Verona, we are

¹ *Lettere*, p. 12, *ap Tirab.* vii. par. ii. p. 285.

² In a letter to Henry II., of France, he says, “Io ho già temperata la penna d'oro col finissimo inchiostro per scrivere in carte di lunga vita,” &c. And in another, to Giambattista Gastaldo, “Già ho temperata la penna d'oro per celebrare il valor vostro.”—*Lett.* p. 31. 35, *ap Tirab.*

³ Of the abilities of Aretino, whether in prose or verse, whether sacred or profane, epic or dramatic, panegyric or satirical, notwithstanding their number and variety, not one piece exists, which, in point of literary merit, is entitled to approbation; yet the commendations he received from his contemporaries are beyond example; and by his unblushing effrontery, and the artful intermixture of censure and adulation, he contrived to lay under contribution almost all the sovereigns and eminent men of his time.—*Life and Pontificate of Leo X.*

told, he was received as an attendant on the court; and we learn from himself, that he was honoured by the pontiff with particular distinction and kindness; that he was rewarded with honours and emolument;¹ and that his *Christiad* was undertaken at the suggestion of Leo. Some doubt has been entertained respecting the motive which induced the pope to employ the poet in this undertaking. Sanazzaro was thought to be unfavourable to his fame, and Vida, not without suspicion, employed as a rival. The poem was not finished till after the death of Leo, and to Clement VII. he was principally indebted for the reward of his labours: he gave him the appointment of apostolic secretary, and afterwards promoted him to the bishopric of Alba. He died, however, at a very advanced age, infinitely more honoured for his talents and his virtue, than envied for the reward that accompanied them. The revenue of his bishopric was more contracted than his charity and benevolence, and his days were ended in poverty. "I have seen," says Tiraboschi, "an inventory of the furniture found in his episcopal palace, by which it was very clear that he died exceedingly poor."² Vida was buried in the cathedral of Alba, with this simple, but impressive epitaph on his tomb:—

HIC SĪTUS EST M. HIERONYMUS VIDA.
CREMON. ALBÆ. EPISCOPUS.

Such an inscription is all that can be desired by a great man whose fame has higher claims to immortality.

In the reign of Leo X. neither morals nor science make any conspicuous figure, and his frigid conduct towards his old friend Ariosto savours but little of that true feeling of a noble and liberal mind, which has been so largely attributed to his character. Soon after his accession to the pontificate, Ariosto went to Rome, hoping at least to share those favours which were bestowed on others of inferior merit; but he was disappointed. Leo, upon

jam carmina nostra
Ipse libens relegerat. Ego illi carus, et auctus
Muneribusque, opibusque, et honoribus insignitus."

Vida, Parentum Manibus, in op. vol. ii. p. 144.

² *Storia della Litt. Ital.* vol. vii. par. iii. p. 283.

his interview, recognised his old friend, kissed him on each cheek, and gave him assurances of his favour and esteem. His favour, however, extended no further than granting a bull to secure the copyright of his *Orlando Furioso*, for which he paid the customary fees of office. His disappointment on this occasion is evident from many passages in his *Satires*; where he often adverts to his journey to Rome, with the vexation of a man who felt the injury, but with feelings superior to its evils; and his epistolary satire to Annibale Malaguzzi deserves to be recorded as an admirable example of the justness of his feelings, and the power of expressing, without acrimony, the severest censure on the operating principles of the human mind, which so often occur under similar circumstances. "Some persons may perhaps observe, that if I had gone to Rome in quest of benefices, I might have caught one before this time; especially as I had long been in favour with the pope, and had ranked amongst his ancient friends before his virtue and his good fortune had exalted him to his high dignity, or the Florentines had opened their gates to him, or his brother Giuliano taken refuge at the court of Urbino; where, with the author of the *Cortegiano*, with Bembo, and other favourites of Apollo, he alleviated the hardships of his exile. When, too, the Medici again raised their heads in Florence, and the gonfaloniere, flying from his palace, met with his ruin; and when he went to Rome to take the name of Leo, he still preserved his attachment to me. Often, whilst he was legate, has he told me that he should make no difference between his brother and myself. On this account it may appear strange to some, that when I paid him a visit at Rome he should have humbled my crest; but to those I shall reply by a story. Read it, my friend; for to read it will be less trouble to you, than it was to me to write it——

"There was once a season in which the earth was so parched up with heat, that it seemed as if Phœbus had again relinquished the reins to Phaëton. Every well and every spring was dry. Brooks and streams, nay even the most celebrated rivers, might be crossed without a bridge.

In these times there lived a shepherd, I know not whether to call him rich, or incumbered with herds and flocks, who having long sought for water in vain, turned his prayers toward that Being who never deserts those who trust in him; and by Divine favour he was instructed, that at the bottom of a certain valley, he would find the welcome aid. He immediately departed with his wife, his children, and all his cattle; and according to his expectation found the spring. The well was not, however, very deep; and having only a small vessel to dispense the water, he desired his followers not to take it amiss if he secured the first draught for himself. The next, says he, is for my wife, and the third and fourth for my dear children, till all their thirst be quenched. The next must be distributed to such of my friends as have assisted me in opening the well. He then attends to his cattle, taking care to supply those first whose death would occasion him the greatest loss. Under these regulations they pass on, one after another, to drink. At length a poor parrot, which was very much beloved by its master, cried out, 'Alas! I am neither one of his relations, nor did I assist in digging the well; nor am I likely to be of more service to him in future than I have been in time past. Others, I observe, are still behind me; but even I shall die with thirst if I cannot elsewhere obtain relief.'

"With this story, my good cousin, you may dismiss those who think that the pope should prefer me before the *Neri*, the *Vanni*, the *Lotti*, and the *Baci*, his nephews and relations, who must drink first; and afterwards those who have assisted in investing him with the richest of all mantles. When these are satisfied, he will favour those who espoused his cause against Soderini, on his return to Florence; one person will say, I was with Piero in Casentino, and narrowly escaped being taken and killed. I, cries Brandino, lent him money. He lived, exclaimed a third, a whole year at my expense, whilst I furnished him with arms, with clothes, with money, and with horses. If I wait until all these are satisfied, I shall certainly either perish with thirst, or see the well exhausted."¹

¹ *Ariosto*, Satire iii. *Life and Pontificate of Leo X.* vol. ii.

If this sarcasm can at the same time be considered as an apology for the pope, justice must not be forgotten. He, whose hardships were alleviated in exile by the duke of Urbino, deserves but little excuse for his treatment of Ariosto, who so materially contributed his share; when in return, he availed himself of the first opportunity to dispossess his benefactor of his dominions, and endeavoured to lose the recollection of his friend by cold and distant civility. That the great have oftentimes more claims upon their patronage than they have power to bestow can readily be conceded; but when justice yields to ingratitude and selfish views, it is anything but that which it pretends to be.

After these remarks it might be difficult to conceive by what qualities Leo X. was rendered illustrious; but his character by Guicciardini, who cannot be suspected of any disposition to dishonour his name, is sufficiently satisfactory to account for any extent of popularity he may have possessed. "He was a man of the greatest liberality, if it be proper to give that name to a profuseness in expense which surpassed all bounds. After his assumption of the pontificate, he conducted himself with so much magnificence and splendour, with a truly royal spirit, as would have been surprising even to one who had descended by long succession from kings and emperors. Nor was he only profuse of money, but of all favours that are at the disposal of a pope, which he bestowed so unmeasurably that he brought the spiritual authority into contempt, and disordered the economy of the court. To a remarkable easiness of manner he added a most profound dissimulation, with which he circumvented every one in the beginning of his pontificate, and thus passed for a very good prince, I dare not say an apostolical goodness; for in our corrupt times, the goodness of a pontiff is commended when he does not surpass the wickedness of other men; but he was reputed merciful, of most courtly manners, and studious of not giving offence to any one."¹

¹ Guicciardini, *Historia d'Italia*, lib. xvi. p. 480. Ed. Venetia, M.D.LXXIII.

Such is the summary account of Leo X. by a friend to the house of Medici; but from whose immortal history it is easy to perceive, that in the various transactions in which he was concerned, the morality of the sovereign pontiff was subservient to his pleasures; and to aggrandize his family no resources were untried, and no means unexhausted. Courteous and magnificent to the great sovereigns of Europe, and faithless to those who were unable to oppose his machinations; and with all his claims to popularity and esteem, it would be difficult to find one act of state policy without its preponderance of vice, or one example of virtue without an alloy to vitiate our sense of its importance, in the dispensation of laws, or the government of mankind.

Upon the death of Leo, cardinal di Tortoso was chosen to fill the papal chair, by the title of Adrian VI. The façade of S. Lorenzo was now altogether laid aside, and Michel Angelo employed himself upon two statues originally intended for the monument of Julius, and which probably he now proposed to adapt to the new design. Having been interrupted during the whole reign of Leo X. from prosecuting the monument, Francesco Maria della Rovere, duke of Urbino, nephew to Julius II., was impatient, and insisted that he should account for sixteen thousand crowns supposed to have been received in the pontificate of his uncle, and petitioned Adrian to cite him to Rome to refund that sum, or give a satisfactory account of its expenditure. Michel Angelo was desirous to make out the account in Florence, but the duke insisted upon his coming to Rome, and the pope issued his mandate to that effect; but the cardinal Giuliano de' Medici, who at that time held the government of Florence, refused his compliance with the summons, assuring his holiness that he would be responsible for a just accommodation of the dispute. Giuliano, who had a higher value for the talents of Michel Angelo than his cousin Leo, commissioned him at this time to build a library and new sacristy to the church of S. Lorenzo, to serve as a mausoleum for the Medici family; and also to execute monuments to the memory of the dukes Giuliano and Lorenzo to be placed

in it; which he assigned as a reason to the pope for detaining him in Florence. These works took up the whole of his attention during the pontificate of Adrian, which, to the gratification of the college of cardinals, was but of short duration; he was elected by accident,¹ and no sooner chosen than they repented; as he was a man hardly known by name, and had never seen Italy, so that after a pontificate of twenty months, he died on the 14th of September, 1523, without lamentation or regret. With his illustrious predecessor religion was an embodied phantom, to frighten the world into obedience, and grasp the possessions which belonged to others; but Adrian was a scholar and a theologian, and instead of the principles of Machiavelli, he studied the works of the fathers; so that in a court of dissipation he had no friends, and by the skilful in political intrigue he was considered a "barbarian." His high office he never made subservient to personal ostentation or family aggrandizement, which in purer times would have been a virtue, but in the successor of Leo X. served only to stamp his character with meanness and unprincely parsimony. Thus it happens in temporal affairs, that he who lives in an era unsuited to his virtues, is more depreciated than he who conforms to the vices of his age.

Adrian was succeeded by cardinal Giuliano de' Medici, with the title of Clement VII., who having a personal interest in appropriating the abilities of Michel Angelo to himself, in order to execute the works begun at S. Lorenzo, the artist was prevented from completing the monument of Julius, and the duke of Urbino felt himself highly dissatisfied. Upon this Michel Angelo went to Rome to advise with the pope what line of conduct he might be permitted to pursue. With respect to the supposed sixteen thousand crowns in question, if a fair balance were made he would rather be a creditor than a debtor, and therefore was ready to meet the question in any way that was most agreeable to his holiness. The pope advised him to see the duke's agents, and make a fair exposition of all the circumstances of the case; anticipating that if they found there was no

¹ Guicciardini, *Hist. d'Italia*, lib. xiv. p. 420

surplus of money remaining in his hands, they would not be anxious about the completion of the work. The unfortunate state of the affairs of Italy, and the difficulty in which he was involved between his own inclinations and the necessity of complying with the commands of the pope, made his stay in Rome unpleasant and unsatisfactory.

The celebrated battle of Pavia, which gave an alarming ascendancy to the wide extending power of Charles V., perplexed the governments of Italy to know how to secure their independence. The pope, with complicated views and latent schemes, was not less impressed with the pending danger than the surrounding states, and from this time his artifices to disperse the gathering storm only brought the nearer prospect of his own ruin, till he himself was made a prisoner, and his capital sacked by the licentious soldiery of the duke of Bourbon.¹ In this anxious state of public affairs, Michel Angelo preferred Florence to Rome, and without coming to any definite conclusion with the agents of the duke of Urbino, returned and continued his works in architecture and sculpture for the chapel and library of S. Lorenzo. About this time he executed a statue of Christ, of the size of nature, to be placed on an altar in the church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, in Rome.²

From the year 1512, when the gonfaloniere, Soderini, was driven from his situation at the head of the republic, Florence and its dependencies became subject to the Medici family. This city had risen into importance from the constitution of its government, and grown rich by the profits of trade. Its wealth and power, therefore, made it an object of the first importance to Leo X. to direct its counsels and dispose of its resources to his own advantage, and, during his reign of eight years and as many months,

¹ The battle of Pavia, in which Francis I. was made prisoner, was fought on the 25th of February, 1525. Rome was sacked, and Bourbon, who commanded the army, killed before the castle of St. Angelo, on the 6th of May, 1527, and the pope imprisoned until the 9th of December following.

² This statue is now in Santa Maria Sopra Minerva; not placed over an altar, but on a pedestal at the entrance of the choir. In this church are deposited the remains of Leo X.

it contributed no less than two millions of ducats to enable him to seize on the neighbouring states, and act the part of a splendid sovereign with the potentates of Europe, with a view to the future establishment of his family on a throne.

Florence for fifteen years had reluctantly yielded to the necessity of the times. From the death of Lorenzo, the distinguished title bestowed upon his grandfather, of *Pater Patriæ*, could not, with the shadow of propriety, be extended to any of his successors. With gold in one hand, and the scourge in the other, the most discordant parts of a state may be kept together; and those who surround a throne and enjoy the benefit of making a concentric circle, will be at once its safeguard and support; but this support in times of prosperity, which is enough for all the common purposes of government, is feeble and inefficient on the eve of its dissolution. When benefits decline, murmurs arise, and the mass of the people, awed, or persuaded into silence, are then suffered to exercise their power, and level that authority to the ground, by which alone they were controlled.

By the indiscretion of his measures, and the duplicity of his conduct, Clement VII. made himself despised by his enemies, and but little respected by his friends. No sooner was the ecclesiastical state a prey to a foreign enemy than his adherents in Tuscany were weakened and diminished, and his legate, seeing no prospect of being reimbursed in the expenses necessary to maintain his authority, resigned it into the hands of the citizens. Thus, on the 16th of May, 1527, Florence resumed its ancient form of government, and Nicolo Capponi, a man of high consideration and attached to the constitution of his country, was chosen gonfaloniere.

The dangers to which Italy was at this time exposed by the preponderancy of the emperor Charles V. prompted the Venetians, the dukes of Ferrara, Mantua, and Urbino, to unite in the interest of France and England to oppose the progress of his power; and, at the particular solicitation of the duke of Ferrara, Florence joined in the confederacy. From the 6th of May, 1527, till the 9th of December of the same year, the pope was kept a close pri

soner in the castle of S. Angelo, during which time the Florentines had nothing to apprehend from his influence ; but he was no sooner at liberty than the recovery of Florence was the first object of his ambition. In the vicissitude of war, and the fluctuation of interests, he kept his eye steadily on that object ; and though by his shifting management he was despised and detested by all, yet his friendship became necessary, as the advantages of war became more doubtful to the contending parties ; and the emperor, in a political view, considering his alliance of importance to his future plans, offered him such terms as were readily accepted, and a treaty was concluded at Barcelona, on the 5th of August, 1529, in which, among other articles, the emperor engaged to grant the sovereignty of Florence to the pope for Alessandro de' Medici, his great nephew, and to make it hereditary in his family.

The republic now saw its approaching ruin, and it was from France alone, to whose interest it had been constantly attached, that it could hope to ward off the pending blow. But Francis I., though with the warmest assurances of friendship, found it expedient to come to an accommodation with the emperor ; and in a treaty at Cambray, concluded at the same time with that of Barcelona, the Florentines were left to take care of themselves. Under these circumstances, the magistrates of the republic endeavoured to negotiate with Charles V., offering to put themselves under his protection ; but it was now too late ; the republic was sold ; and it was only left for the emperor to see that his part of the contract was fulfilled.

The gonfaloniere Capponi, previous to this cloudy prospect of affairs, entered into a private correspondence with the pope to palliate an evil which it was not difficult to anticipate, yet without relaxing any measures that ultimate necessity might require. The city was ordered to be completely fortified, and in every respect to be put in the best state of resistance and defence, and Michel Angelo was appointed military architect and master of the ordnance. The correspondence between the gonfaloniere and Clement VII. was soon discovered by his enemies ; and in the enthusiasm of democracy, and the jealousy inseparable

from the republican form of government, he was immediately accused of treachery. The citizens rose in arms, seized upon the government palace, convened the magistrates, and put Capponi under an arrest. He was afterwards tried according to law, and honourably acquitted; but was, nevertheless, succeeded in his office by one Francesco Carduci, who neither for virtue nor ability was worthy of so great an honour or so important a trust.

At this time the city of Ferrara was considered to be the best fortified town in Italy, and the duke Alfonso to be eminently distinguished for his abilities in that branch of knowledge. Michel Angelo was therefore advised to make him a visit previous to his commencing the fortification of Florence, in order to avail himself of his experience. He approved of the measure, and embraced the opportunity. When he arrived at Ferrara, the duke received him with the utmost courtesy, and, without hesitation, showed him every part of the works, and made every communication without reserve: he showed him also his private collection of virth; and when Michel Angelo was about to take his leave, he facetiously said, "You are now my prisoner, and if you wish to have your liberty, you must make me a promise to let me have something of your own hand, either in sculpture or painting." To this flattering request he willingly complied: and on his return, notwithstanding his time was much taken up in the fortification of the city, he began a picture of Jupiter and Leda, including the birth of Castor and Pollux, which was afterwards finished, but from a misunderstanding between him and the duke's agent, it was not sent to Ferrara, but went into France, where it was purchased by Francis I.

When the treaty of Barcelona was concluded, the emperor gave orders to the prince of Orange, at the pope's desire, to attack the state of the Florentines. The prince was then employed in reviewing the army on the confines of the kingdom of Naples, and, on receiving this order, repaired to Rome to make the necessary arrangements for the expedition. The forces under his command consisted of three thousand German, and four thousand Italian infantry; and the marquis del Guasto, who commanded

the Spanish troops in Puglia, was afterwards to join him. On the 19th of August the prince arrived with his army at Terni and Foligno, the place of their rendezvous, and proceeded immediately to besiege Spelle; which, though capable of making a good defence, disgracefully surrendered without resistance. Perugia, garrisoned by Florentine troops, and commanded by Malatesta Baglioni, was the next point of attack; but Malatesta was of doubtful fidelity, and the republic considered it more prudent to withdraw their garrison than to reinforce it. The city therefore fell into the hands of the enemy with little opposition, and the troops were marched to Cortona. Thus the military operations of the enemy were rapidly brought to the confines of their own immediate territory.

The war now advancing with little interruption towards Florence itself, the government exercised the utmost skill by entering into propositions and negotiation with the emperor and the pope, to retard the march of the enemy, that time might be obtained to fortify the city. In addition to the works already projected, Michel Angelo proposed to construct a fortification on a height commanding Florence and the surrounding country, called Monte San Miniato: he satisfactorily proved that, if this post should be possessed by the enemy, it would be of the most serious disadvantage, and as a citadel might be of the utmost importance to themselves: his plan was approved, and he immediately proceeded to carry it into effect. The endeavours to gain time were ineffectual, and the prince advanced to Cortona. In the first assault he was repulsed; but, from the city not being sufficiently defended, and from the desire the republic had to concentrate their force, it surrendered on the 17th of September; and Arezzo, from the same reason, capitulated in two days afterwards.

The emperor now openly avowed he would no longer give audience to the Florentine ambassadors unless the Medici family were restored. Upon this occasion the prince of Orange declared to them, that he detested the covetous ambition of the pope, and the injustice of the enterprise, and lamented that his duty as a soldier compelled him to act so repugnantly to his feelings.

The prince was at the head of ten thousand five hundred infantry, composed of Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and eight hundred cavalry, but was in want of artillery; he therefore applied to the Sensee to accommodate him with ordnance. This request they had no inclination to grant, but were in no condition to refuse; thus being without an alternative, they met the difficulty by using a discreet procrastination, which checked the evil they had no other means of alleviating.

The Florentine deputies, who were refused an audience with the emperor, were more fortunate with the pope; to their solicitation, which had for its object to avert the approaching evils of the war, and the calamities of a siege, he answered, that he had no design to make any change in the liberty of the city; but had been compelled to undertake the enterprise, not so much from the injuries he had received from the republic, or the necessity of securing his own estate, as by a convention he was constrained to make with the emperor, and that his honour being now interested in prosecuting the undertaking, he demanded nothing of them but that they would voluntarily put themselves in his power; which, when done, he would demonstrate how much he had at heart the happiness of their common country.¹ Such was the language of the apostolic father, who ought to have had more respect for himself, than to have made such professions, which it was obvious he could have no intention of verifying.

The prince of Orange still advanced, and on the 24th of September was in the vale of Arno, only eight miles distant from Florence, where he halted for the arrival of the ordnance from Siena, which began to move on the ninth; but the same tardiness which delayed their preparation impeded their progress, and it was not until the 20th of October that the artillery joined the army, and arrived in the plain of Ripoli, two miles from Florence. These slow movements gave Michel Angelo an opportunity of finishing the fortification, and putting the city in a complete state of defence. Such delay not having

¹ Guicciardini, *Hist. d'Italia*. lib. xix. tom. ii. p. 98.

been anticipated, the council and magistracy of ten appointed to manage the affairs of the war, were unanimously of opinion, when the army advanced to Feghine and Ancisa on the 27th of September, that it would be most prudent to send a *carte blanche* to Rome to submit themselves to the will of the pope; but the gonfaloniere, with the supreme magistracy, without whose consent the resolution could not pass, were of a different opinion, and being supported by the popular influence, the measure was laid aside; the officers adjudging the fortification to be sufficiently strong to resist the attack of the enemy, all inclination to agreement with his holiness ceased.

On the 24th of October, the prince of Orange encamped on the hills surrounding the city, and his first operation was throwing up a rampart to storm the bastion of S. Miniato; but his plan was frustrated by the measures Michel Angelo had previously taken for its defence. Besides cannon planted in the garden of the convent, he placed two large guns on the top of the bell-tower commanding the intrenchments, which so completely annoyed the enemy, that their intention to storm the bastion was soon given up, and the artillery was directed to demolish the tower. Michel Angelo, however, adopted an effectual measure for its preservation; from the top he hung mattresses of wool on the side exposed to the attack, and by means of a bold projecting cornice from which they were suspended, a considerable space was left between them and the wall: this plan he effected in the night, and the future cannonading of the enemy only served to show to advantage this simple expedient. The prince of Orange now directed his skill to dismount the cannon, and not being more successful, began to consider the siege of Florence a difficult undertaking, and in future conducted his mode of attack rather with skirmishes than after the manner of a siege.

The emperor and the pope at this time had an interview at Bologna; and as the siege of Florence was likely to be of longer continuance than was at first expected, his holiness interested himself to produce a peace between the duke of Milan, the republic of Venice, and Charles V.; and on the 23d of December, 1529, an amicable adjust-

ment took place between all parties. After eight years warfare, Italy, with exception to the Florentine state, was restored to tranquillity.

The emperor having withdrawn his troops from the Venetian territory, sent seven thousand three hundred infantry, and three hundred light cavalry, with twenty-five pieces of artillery, to reinforce the prince of Orange before the walls of Florence. Notwithstanding this reinforcement, he wanted either skill or courage to make an assault upon the city; and the Florentines not judging it prudent to hazard a general battle, the siege was converted into little other than a blockade. The Florentines, though unassisted by any ally, had sufficient resources to hold out for many months, and they hoped that time might do for them what they were unable to do themselves, as the troops were composed of different nations, among whom dissensions might arise to diminish their strength; but that which they calculated upon in the enemy, unfortunately soon happened in their own army: for in times of danger, slight inconveniences are accounted important sacrifices, and by mercenaries inevitable evils are borne with murmur and discontent.

Napoleone Orsino, who received pay from the republic for his services, began to consider that more was to be gained by making a timely arrangement with the emperor, than by being faithful to his engagement with the Florentines; and Malatesta Baglioni had also two objects in view, one, to receive the pay of the republic for his troops; and the other, to gain the sovereignty of Perugia for himself. To obtain this last object was his constant aim, and for that end he privately negotiated with the pope, and is supposed to have betrayed the counsels of the republic.

Michel Angelo, after the most active service for six months, in which he defended the city and repelled the repeated attacks of the enemy, was secretly told of treacherous plans to undermine the republic. He lost no time in making the communication to the government, showing at once the danger to which they were exposed, and how their safety might be provided for; but instead of attending to him with due respect, he was reproached with credulous timidity: offended with this treatment, he

observed it was useless for him to be taking care of the walls, if they were determined not to take care of themselves. Depending upon the correctness of his information, and the perspicacity of his own judgment, he saw inevitable ruin to the common cause; this, added to the personal disrespect he received, determined him to give up his employment and withdraw from the city. As the nature of his information did not allow him to make a public declaration of his intention, he withdrew privately; but he was no sooner gone than his departure created general concern. Upon his leaving Florence he proceeded to Ferrara,¹ and from thence to Venice; where, as soon as he arrived, he was followed by the importunities of persons high in office, soliciting him to return, and not abandon the post committed to his charge; at the same time softening by expletives the rudeness and inattention with which he had been treated. These solicitations, addressed to an ardent mind, and strong patriotic feelings, prompted him

¹ The following anecdote has been recorded by Vasari, respecting Michel Angelo's leaving Florence upon this occasion. When he privately withdrew, he took with him Antonio Mini, his scholar and assistant, and one Piloto, a goldsmith, each wearing a mantle lined or quilted with money. As soon as they arrived at Ferrara, they were obliged to give in their names to the officer of police; in consequence of which, the duke Alfonso became acquainted with Michel Angelo's arrival. The duke, who was a great lover of virtù, was delighted with this unexpected visit, and immediately sent one of the principal officers of his court to invite him to his palace. As he was thus discovered, it was useless to make apologies, and went immediately. His highness received him with the most marked attention, but accused him of being shy and distant: he intreated him to stay at Ferrara, where the most honourable provision should be made for him in his own palace. This honour he declined; the duke then hoped he would stay during the war, and renewed the offer to accommodate him with whatever was in his power. That Michel Angelo might not be outdone in courtesy, he turned towards his two companions, at the same time addressing himself to the duke, saying, "I have brought twelve thousand crowns to Ferrara" (pointing to the mantles they wore), "which, if you have any occasion for them, they are much at your service, together with your humble servant."

After some conversation upon various subjects, the duke showed him everything he had in his palace worth his attention. Michel Angelo then retired to the inn; upon which his highness gave orders to the host, that every possible attention might be shown to his guests, and that they might not be charged with any expense.

to obey the will of his country and his friends, and without delay he returned and resumed his situation.

At the end of the year the pope showed a desire to negotiate, and sent the bishop of Faenza to Florence for that purpose. Upon this overture the republic sent deputies to his holiness and the emperor, but with express orders to listen to no proposition for changing the government or diminishing the authority of the magistrates; from these preliminaries, the negotiation with the pontiff was no sooner commenced than concluded, each having no inclination to yield to the other the sole object of the war. By the emperor they were refused an audience, and they returned without any hope of pacification.

This unsuccessful attempt demonstrating to the republic the impracticability of making any peace but with the sword, all the general officers convened themselves in the church of St. Nicholas to swear to defend the city till death; and after mass, took the oath in the presence of their captain-general; Napoleone Orsino making the only exception, upon which he quitted the service. The troops, which consisted of nine or ten thousand within the walls, were attached to the cause, and without intermission discharged their duty with readiness and fidelity.

Until the 21st of March, 1530, Florence received no injury from the besiegers, except the inconvenience of an imperfect blockade. The prince of Orange, fatigued with delay, and having less confidence in the measures he was pursuing, began to make active preparations to take the city by storm. After a severe skirmish, in which considerable loss was sustained, he made a vigorous attempt to effect a breach in the walls; but Michel Angelo so well provided against his hostile means, that after exerting all his resources, he found it prudent to retire. On the 9th of May another skirmish took place, in which the Florentines lost one hundred and thirty men killed and wounded, and the besiegers above two hundred, among whom was a Spanish general officer. Malatesta Baglioni and Stefano Colonna, at the head of three thousand foot, afterwards made an unsuccessful attack upon the Germans fortified in their intrenchments. In this sally Stefano

Colonna performed his part, and was wounded in the action; but not being supported by the captain general, who was accused of cowardice or treachery, the enterprise failed.

The king of France, who from time to time promised them all the assistance in his power, consistent with the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed with respect to the emperor, at length was enabled to manifest his sincerity, or the want of it. In the beginning of June his two sons were ransomed and delivered up to him; but to know how subordinate states may be disposed of to the greatest advantage, and the least sacrifice of external decorum, is always an intricate question to resolve Francis I. and Henry VIII. of England wished to detach the pontiff from the interest of Charles V.; for this object it was necessary to gain some share of his favour and esteem, and any measures that could accelerate the accomplishment of his favourite object were sure of success. Francis, therefore, wished the Florentines to treat with his holiness; in other words, to yield and acknowledge the sovereignty of the Medici family: from this proposition it was clear, that all expectation was dissipated which had hitherto remained; and not less obvious, as is common in the ordinary operations of the human mind, when advice is not complied with, which is given by superior power, the first breach is made for future hostility. In this state of affairs little was to be expected. A scarcity of provisions increased, and every avenue was cut off by the besieging enemy; yet the spirit of the people was not depressed, nor their perseverance relaxed. They still kept possession of Pisa with a body of troops under the command of Francesco Ferruccio, an officer of great bravery and unquestionable fidelity.

In a case of desperate necessity it is prudent to adopt desperate measures. The Florentines therefore sent orders to Ferruccio to assemble his troops, leave Pisa, and make the best of his way to Florence, to enable them to hazard a general battle. What the result of this event might have been, if one common interest had equally animated and directed all, would be rash to determine; the strength of

men is not in arithmetical proportion to their numbers, but to the devotion manifested in exposing their lives for the cause in which they are engaged; an individual who feels the full dignity of his nature, inspired with the love of virtue and justice, is a host, when opposed to the contracted meanness of selfish views; but if there be division in the councils, and treachery in the executive power, it is hopeless to calculate upon success with any numbers, or in any enterprise.

The Florentines were unfortunate in the choice of their captain general; he was known to hold an intimate correspondence with the prince of Orange, and to intrigue with the court of Rome: upon this occasion, there is every reason to believe he communicated the plans of the government to the enemy, and gave assurances to the prince that he would not attack the remainder of his troops he might leave, if he were disposed to intercept Ferruccio. Be this as it may, the prince drew off his army, and put himself on the march, with correct information; and in the mountains of Pistoia, not far from Pisa, the two armies met, and the conflict, equally honourable to the bravery of both, determined the fate of Florence. The prince, who rather performed the duty of a private soldier than a general, was killed in the action; but his superior force overpowered the enemy, and obtained the victory. Ferruccio was made prisoner, and put to death afterwards by the barbarity of the imperial general. Thus the last hope of the republic was eclipsed.

Deserted by all human assistance, and the inevitable prospect of famine before them, their horizon was rendered dark and dreadful; yet in this case of horrible necessity, the government was persuaded, it were better to find a common grave than to yield to the cruelty and oppression of the pope, and his great nephew Alexander de' Medici, one of the most vitiated and worthless of human beings. In the last extremity, when life is not worth its price, it has been held justifiable to make the adversary taste the draught he compels his opponent to drink; and with these feelings the Florentines determined to die as soldiers in the intrenchments of their enemies. Malatesta Baglioni,

however, was of a different opinion; not from any higher sense of virtue, but because he consulted his own personal advantage and the interest of the pope, who had long secretly given him assurances of the sovereignty of Perugia.¹

This declaration of hostility to the government produced the greatest distraction; Baglioni received his orders of dismissal, and was commanded to withdraw; but he possessed too much military power to be controlled by the civil authority; he drew his dagger upon the deputation charged with the commission, wounded one, and would have killed him on the spot, had he not been fortunately rescued by the attendants who were present. By this act of violence he manifested his power, and made it sufficiently evident, that the authority no longer resided with the gonfaloniere and the magistrates, but with himself, as captain general of the army. Thus, the city being at his disposal, and the work of dissimulation at an end, on the 9th of August four persons were nominated to enter into a treaty of capitulation with Don Ferrando da Gonzaga, who succeeded the prince of Orange as commander in chief of the imperial army; on the next day the convention was concluded. Among the principal articles, it was agreed that the pope and the Florentines should concede to the emperor the authority to declare within three months their form of government, with a useless clause to preserve their liberty; that there should be a general amnesty for all injuries to the pope, his friends, and servants; and until the will of the emperor should be known, Malatesta Baglioni should remain with two thousand foot to garrison the city. Anxious, however, to receive the reward of his services, he immediately organized the government as it existed before the year 1527, and gave up the sovereignty to the pope, who in return permitted him to leave Florence, and take possession of Perugia. Here ended the Florentine republic, after three centuries of varied and fluctuating fortune; yet amidst civil dissensions, internal calamity, or external war, genius flourished; and whatever may be the

¹ Vide *Guicciardini*, lib. xix. p. 97. Ed. Venetia, MDCXXIII.

cause, it is to this contracted territory, that our enlighbened times owe more than to all the states of Europe that assisted in its ruin.¹

. The most ardent wishes of the pope being accomplished, it was reasonable to expect, both as a temporal prince, dignified with honourable feelings, and as the vicegerent of Christ the dispenser of mercy, that he would have scrupulously fulfilled all the conditions of the treaty; but neither honour nor Christianity influenced his mind; he sought revenge with a vindictive spirit, and adopted the shadow of justice only to sanction its most flagrant violation. The general amnesty to all those who had injured the pope, his friends, and servants, his holiness professed most faithfully to observe; but the injuries committed by the same persons, in the affairs of the republic, he knew of no justice to extenuate, or mercy to forgive; he therefore put to death, imprisoned, and banished, at his own discretion.²

Michel Angelo, knowing his character, immediately on the surrender of the city left his own house, and hid himself in an obscure retreat by the assistance of a friend, to whom alone the knowledge of his seclusion was intrusted.³ And his anticipation was not ill founded; for the pope had no sooner taken possession, than his house was diligently searched; not a recess of any kind escaped, nor a trunk left unopened that could be supposed capable of containing him. After several days, when all search was ineffectual, his holiness expressly wrote to Florence, offering Michel Angelo, by a public manifesto, the most positive assurances, if he would discover himself, he should not be molested, on condition that he would finish the two monuments in

¹ In the year 1532, Alessandro de' Medici was placed at the head of the government, with the title of doge; and his authority soon afterward strengthened by his marriage with Margareta of Austria, natural daughter of the emperor Charles V.

² *Guicciardini*, lib. xx. p. 106.

³ Upon this occasion Condivi says that "Michel Angelo, fearing the consequences, concealed himself in the house of an intimate friend. Vasari repeats the same words; but Bottari, in a note to his edition of that author, says, that it was commonly believed he was secreted in the bell-tower of the church of S. Nicholas; and this was the opinion of the senator Philip Buonarroti.—Tom. iii. p. 244.

St. Lorenzo already begun. As the condition seemed to offer some security for the performance of the amnesty, he accepted the terms. With little respect for the person his genius was to commemorate, and with less affection for his employer, he hastened to complete his labour; not with any ardour of sentiment, but as a task which was the price of his liberty.

These monuments record the names of Giuliano de' Medici, the brother of Leo X. and their nephew Lorenzo. Their statues are seated in Roman military habits, and with corresponding designs on their sarcophagi are four recumbent figures, emblematically personifying Morning and Evening, and Day and Night.

Why this cycle of time was chosen for two such men is difficult to determine; since the former possessed no quality to distinguish him above the ordinary capacity which claims our respect, and the latter no quality that deserves to be remembered. In the same sacristy is a statue of a Madonna, with an infant Christ in her arms, also by Michel Angelo, which, for the elegance and simplicity of the composition, deserves to be ranked with the best of his performances in sculpture.

Tranquillity being restored to Italy, Michel Angelo was again called upon by the duke of Urbino to complete the monument of Julius II. agreeably to the last design. No circumstance in his life was attended with more sincere regret and mortification than this delay, which at once impeached his gratitude, and injured his reputation; but Leo X. and Clement VII. successively prevented the accomplishment of that object, and the pope now sent for him to Rome to make such an arrangement as might be favourable to his own plans: being anxious to employ him in Florence. The duke was given to understand, that Michel Angelo retained a considerable sum of money, which had been received from his uncle Julius; but upon investigation, it proved to be a mistake. All the sums received at various times did not amount to one third of what was agreed to be paid by the cardinals Aginense and Santi Quattro, according to the contract made after the death of the pope. Clement VII. being desirous of annulling this contract,

considered the result of this inquiry as particularly favourable to his views; he therefore instructed him to tell the agents of the duke, that he was ready to finish the monument, but that he must know who was to pay for it.¹ This circumstance not having been calculated upon, from the previous opinion entertained of his having received more than sufficient for its completion, produced some deliberation. After considering, however, it was determined he should make a monument for the money in hand,² and instead of its being insulated, it should be a façade, and that the marble already provided should be employed in the best manner to that end; with an obligation on his part, to make six statues himself; and it was also further agreed, that he might work for the pope in Florence four months in the year, where he was then building the sacristy and library of St. Lorenzo.

When this arrangement was concluded, he first went to Florence to accommodate the pope, and after staying four months returned to Rome to fulfil his engagement with the duke of Urbino; but Clement VII., who was not in the habit of keeping his promises, or permitting others to do so, where it interfered with his inclination or his interest, determined it otherwise; he therefore ordered him to paint the two end walls of the Sistine chapel. Under any other circumstances, he would have been happy in the opportunity of advancing that great work, which the liberal patronage of Julius II. had so magnificently projected; but at this time, his engagement with the duke of Urbino was paramount to every other consideration.

After he finished the ceiling in the pontificate of Julius, he made several studies for the west end of the chapel, where he proposed to have painted the fall of Satan. Whether in the original design of the whole work he in-

¹ *Condivi*, sect. xlviii.

² *Condivi*, speaking of this transaction, says, "Michel Angelo has by him a receipt signed by a notary, of the money he received after the death of pope Julius, from the two cardinals his executors; sent by Bernardo Bini, the banker, in Florence, who paid it to him; and which, perhaps may have amounted to three thousand ducats."—*Condivi*, § lii.

tended the Day of Judgment to have occupied the opposite end, is not certain ; but this subject was now determined to fill that space.¹ Michel Angelo being unable openly to oppose the will of the pope, procrastinated the work as much as possible, and while he was engaged in making the cartoon, secretly employed as much of his time as circumstances would allow in forwarding the monument.

On the 25th of September, 1534, Clement VII. died, whose eventful reign was more chequered than that of any prince of modern times. Guicciardini, who has recorded his actions with the feeling of partiality, has left this portrait of him in a few words. "He was rather morose and disagreeable, than of a pleasant and affable temper; reputed avaricious; hardly to be trusted, and naturally averse from doing a kindness; very grave and circumspect in his actions; much master of himself, and of great capacity, if timidity had not frequently corrupted his judgment."²

To the vacant chair of St. Peter, Alessandro Farnese, dean of the sacred college, was elected on the same day the cardinals entered the conclave, and proclaimed supreme head of the church by the title of Paul III.³ As soon as he was elected, he sent for Michel Angelo to engage him in his service; but he, fearful of being diverted from fulfilling his engagement with the duke of Urbino, declined the honour: at the same time stated the circumstances of his contract. His holiness grew angry, and said, "What I have been desirous of doing these thirty years, now I am pope, I cannot accomplish.—Where is this contract? I'll tear it." Michel Angelo explained; and having already suffered so much from the importunity and even threats of the duke of Urbino, he was now determined not to yield, or change the direction of his pursuit. Some time before the death of Clement VII. he had serious thoughts of residing in Urbino, and employed a person to purchase a house for him, and a small estate in that duchy, that he might be retired; but fearing the power of the pope, he

¹ *Condivi*, sect. xlix.

² *Guicciardini*, lib. xx. This pope was bishop of Worcester previous to his being advanced to the pontificate.

³ He was elected the 12th of October, 1534.

hesitated. This restraint, for a series of years, was a constant source of embarrassment and vexation; and a letter from his friend, the celebrated Annibale Caro to Antonio Gallo, at Urbino, upon this subject, is interesting.

“TO ANTONIO GALLO

“I did not answer your letter on Saturday, expecting the publication of the Life of Michel Angelo I spoke to you of, written by one of his scholars,¹ in which the affair of the monument is mentioned, and his justification discussed. You will see what he says, and if it should appear that there is enough to support his cause, have the goodness to submit it to his excellency, with anything more you may think necessary to be added, and with the respect due to such a prince as the duke of Urbino. But I will not ground his cause entirely upon its justice, as in strictness he might be found fault with in many particulars: the instances his excellency has alleged against him to you, are just, and perhaps in part cannot be replied to; I would therefore ask such pardon and remission, as would become the great to offer to men of genius, such as Michel Angelo. Although the popes prevented his finishing the monument he engaged to execute, he ought to do another: his error I am ready to allow, to a certain degree, which he also admits. As he is willing to take up his residence in the duchy of Urbino, the duke might gain him over to himself, and by preserving him, as much as possible, be a benefactor to our age; and I am confident to be in disgrace with his excellency impresses him with great conceit; and might alone be the occasion of shortening his days. Exclusive of the reasons that might be alleged in his favour, I intreat his pardon on another ground; that in being the means of prolonging the life of this singular man, his lordship may exercise that noble generosity which he displays on all occasions, and by so doing, at once render the greatest consolation to Michel Angelo, and attach him to himself for ever: which appears to me no trifling acqui-

¹ The work here alluded to is not known. From various circumstances, Condivi could not be the author referred to.

tion, as he possesses a robust old age, and may yet produce works worthy of posterity.

"My commiseration for an old man, and my desire that his excellency should gain this credit, has induced me thus to express myself: what remains I submit to your generosity and your prudence. For the kindness you have shown in this affair, as well as your goodness towards me in all my own concerns, I give you my most sincere thanks; and though I feel my own inability to make a return, I intreat you to give me an opportunity to render you my services.

"As to the death of the unfortunate duke Orazio, besides the grief I feel for his loss, God only knows how much it is increased by my compassion for the excellent lady, your duchess; and if you should think my condolence not an intrusion, I beg you would communicate my sorrow, and sympathise in the bitterness of her affliction; and may the consolation of Divine Providence be added to yours and to mine. Every blessing attend you.

"ANNIBALE CARO.

"*Rome, Aug. 20, 1535.*"¹

The duke having been irritated, and Paul III. equally intractable, Michel Angelo determined upon leaving Rome, to take up his residence in Genoa, at an abbey belonging to his particular friend the bishop of Aleria, commodiously situated, and where marble might be easily brought by sea from the quarries of Carrara. Whether the pope knew of this arrangement is not certain, but within a few days, he made him a visit at his house, accompanied by ten cardinals, and Michel Angelo showed him the cartoons for the Last Judgment, the sculpture prepared for the monu-

¹ *Lettere Pittoriche*, vol. iii, xci. The letter, in the work here cited, is dated 1553, which I suspect to be a mistake of the press for 1535, as the monument was completed in the pontificate of Paul III.

Vasari, in the first edition of his work, published 1550, says, that the statue of Moses, which makes a part of this monument, was so much admired by the Jews when it was set up, that on Saturdays they flocked in crowds to see it, and adore it as a divine work. He adds: "This monument was reverted to in the time of Paul III., and completed by the liberality of Francesco Maria, duke of Urbino."

ment, and such other studies as happened to be in his house. The cardinal de Mantova, on seeing the statue of Moses, executed for the original design, exclaimed, "This statue alone is enough to honour the tomb of Julius!"¹ After the pope had seen everything, and bestowed the highest praise upon his works, he renewed his application. Michel Angelo, however, retreated from his solicitation. The cardinal de Mantova, feeling the cause of this reluctance, said, he would engage for the duke of Urbino to be satisfied with three statues from his own hand, instead of six, and the other three executed by any sculptor he might appoint. This gave rise to a new engagement with the duke, who, not being willing to disoblige the pope, acceded to this fourth agreement, which fortunately was the last; and after changing the design three times, the task was completed without further interruption, and Michel Angelo continued in Rome.

The monument was not afterwards placed in St. Peter's as originally intended, but in the church of S. Pietro in Vincolo, which gave to Julius his nominal claim to the purple, before he was invested with the honours of the tiara. The monument consists of seven statues, including the statue of the pope himself, who is represented lying on a sarcophagus; below which, in recesses, are the three figures executed by Michel Angelo. In the middle, the celebrated statue of Moses; and on the two sides, in niches, two female figures, personifying Religion and Virtue. Over the sarcophagus, in three niches, are the statues of a Prophet, a Sibyl, and a Madonna with an infant Christ in her arms, executed by a sculptor of the name of Raffaello da Monte Lupo;² the figure of the pope on the sarcophagus

¹ *Condivi*, § li.

² The following letter by Michel Angelo to his bankers, Messrs. Silvestro and Co., serves to authenticate his engagement with Raffaello da Monte Lupo.

" TO M. SILVESTRO DA MONTALUTO AND CO.

" For the payment of the three statues of marble, executed by Raffaello da Monte Lupo, there yet remain one hundred and seventy crowns in money, of ten giull each. When these three statues, which are larger than nature, representing a Prophet, a Sibyl, and a Madonna with

was made by a person whom Vasari calls Maso dal Bosco;¹ these are all composed with ornamental architecture in a bad taste. No part exists of the original composition but the statue of Moses;² two figures were executed for it, in the pontificate of Julius II. and four others begun; but none of them were used in the present design: they represent slaves, or prisoners, as Vasari calls them, and were to have surrounded the base of the mausoleum.³

As there now remained no objection to Michel Angelo's devoting his time to the service of the pope, he commenced painting the great work of the Last Judgment in the Sistine chapel. According to Vasari⁴ it would appear that the cartoon was begun about nine months before the death of Clement VII., and from a letter still existing, written by Michel Angelo himself to Pietro Aretino, he had not entirely finished the composition in the year 1537, two years after the decease of that pontiff, although he was then advancing it, in fresco.

an infant in her arms, shall be completed and placed in the church of St. Pietro, in Vincolo, making a part of the monument of Julius II., you may pay him at his pleasure for his final discharge, the before-mentioned sum of one hundred and seventy crowns, as he will then have fulfilled all the conditions of his engagement.

"Yours, MICHEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.

"Rome."

The whole sum Raffaello da Monte Lupo received, was one thousand five hundred and eighty ducats.

¹ Maso dal Bosco is supposed to be Maso Boscoli, of Fiesole, who was a scholar of Andria Contucci, and executed many works in Rome, in Florence, and in other places.—Vide *Vasari, Vita del Contucci*, and *Abcedario Pittorico*. The statue of the Madonna over the figure of Julius, Vasari says, was executed by one Scherano da Settignano, after Michel Angelo's model; but, from the letter just cited, it is most probable that Vasari was misinformed.

² There are several prints of this monument; the earliest I have seen was published in Rome, by Antonio Salamanca, in the year 1554.

³ The two figures which were finished are now in Paris, in the Musée des Monumens Français; the other four, in their rude and imperfect state, support the roof of a grotto in the Boboli Gardens, in Florence.

⁴ "He was occupied with this work eight years; exhibited for the first time, as I think, on Christmas day, 1541."—*Vasari*, tom. iii. p. 250.

"TO PIETRO ARETINO.

"Magnificent Messer Pietro, my lord and brother,—Your letter, which I have received, has given me both pleasure and pain at the same time; it gave me pleasure, because it came from you, whom I esteem unique in virtù; and pain, that I had finished the greater part of my composition, and could not adopt your ideas of the Day of Judgment, which are so well conceived, that had the event taken place, and yourself been present, you could not have described it better.

"Now, to answer you with respect to writing about me; I am not only pleased with it, but I beg you to do it, since kings and emperors are gratified in being noticed by your pen. In this case, if I have anything that can be of service to you, I offer it with all my heart. Finally, in regard to your coming to Rome, do not put yourself to any inconvenience for the sake of seeing the picture I am about, as that would be buying the gratification at more than it is worth. Farewell.

"MICHEL ANGELO BUONARROTI."

The letter of Aretino, to which this is an answer, is replete with extravagant praise. Though princes bowed before him, yet he professes to approach Michel Angelo with reverence; as the world has many kings, but only one Michel Angelo, "*il mondo ha molti re, ed un solo Michel Angelo.*" He makes nature yield to the vastness of his powers, and declares, that those who have seen him have no reason to regret that they have not seen Phydias, Apelles, and Vetruvius, whose spirits were only as his shadow. With respect to the Last Judgment; under colour of imagining the manner he has treated the subject, he expatiates largely upon what it is capable of, and observes, that if the work of his hand produces fear and trembling, how much greater will be the trepidation when the scene itself shall be realized.¹

¹ This letter is dated September 15, 1537. From a subsequent letter, in the year 1546, addressed to Enea Vico, at Parma, recommending him to engrave the Last Judgment, from a drawing by Bazzecco, Aretino seems to be offended at the general want of decorum in the display of

Whatever may have been the precise date of the commencement of this picture, it was finished in the year 1541, and the chapel opened on Christmas day. Persons are described to have come from the most distant parts of Italy to see it, and the public and the court were rivals in admiration. This must have been peculiarly grateful to Michel Angelo, not only from that pleasure common to all who are conscious of deserving well, and having their claims allowed; but from the satisfaction which it gave the pope, who, in the first year of his pontificate, liberally provided him with a pension for his life of six hundred pounds a year, to enable him to prosecute the undertaking to his own approbation.¹

academic figures throughout this composition, and is apprehensive for the scandal which this licence might spread amongst the Lutherans.—*Vide Lettere Pittoriche*, tom. iii. lett. xxii. lvii.

¹ BRIEF OF PAUL III. TO MICHEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.

“Clement VII., our immediate predecessor, of happy memory, wishing to remunerate you for the fresco picture representing the Last Judgment in our chapel, in consideration of your labour and ability, which is an honour to our age; and the same being also our pleasure, we promised you, and do now promise by these presents, the annual rent of one thousand two hundred golden crowns during your life, the better to enable you to prosecute and finish the said work you have begun. With apostolic authority, and by virtue of these presents, we concede to you, during your life, the Pass of the Po, at Vicenza, with the same emoluments, jurisdictions, honours, and employments, as were enjoyed during the lifetime of the late Gio. Francesco Burla, as one part of the said income,—i. e. for six hundred golden crowns, which we understand to be the annual rent of the said pass; our aforesaid promise remaining permanent respecting the other six hundred crowns. And we command our vice-legat of Cispadana Gallia, and all such as may in future hold that office; and also our dearly-beloved the governor of the aforesaid city of Piacenza, and to all others whom it may concern; that they give to you or to any one you may appoint, the possession of the said pass, and the exercise of its rights, in such a manner that you may maintain and peaceably enjoy this our grant during your life, against whatever cause may operate to the contrary.

“Given in Rome, at St. Mark, September 1, 1535, in the first year of our pontificate.”—*Lettere Pittoriche*, vol. vi. p. 22.

From the words, “in our chapel,” contained in the brief, there might be some doubt respecting the time when this picture was actually begun; but the confusion arises from the picture and the cartoon being occa-

The composition of this picture, in its general design, is conformable to the doctrines and tenets of the Christian faith. Angels are represented as sounding trumpets, the dead as rising from the grave, and ascending to be judged by their Redeemer, who, accompanied by the Virgin Mary, stands surrounded by martyred saints. On his right and left are groups of both sexes, who, having passed their trial, are supposed to be admitted into eternal happiness. On the opposite side to the resurrection and ascension, are the condemned precipitated down to the regions of torment; and at the bottom is a fiend in a boat conducting them to the confines of perdition, where other fiends are ready to receive them. In two compartments at the top of the picture, made by the form of the vaulted ceiling, are groups of figures bearing the different insignia of the Passion.

Near to the chapel of Sixtus, in the Vatican, Antonio da San Gallo built another, by the order of Paul III., which in like manner is called after its founder, the chapel Paolina; and the pope, being solicitous to render it more honourable to his name, commissioned Michel Angelo to paint the walls in fresco. Although he now began to feel he was an old man, he undertook the commission, and on the sides opposite to each other painted two large pictures, representing the Conversion of St. Paul, and the Crucifixion of St. Peter. These pictures, he said, cost him great fatigue, and in their progress declared himself sorry to find that fresco painting was not an employment for his years;¹ he therefore petitioned his holiness that Perino del Vaga might finish the ceiling from his designs; which

sionally spoken of as the same. By Condivi, however, we are clearly informed, that the painting in the chapel was not commenced until the pontificate of Paul III. "Returning to pope Paul, after the expiration of his last arrangement with his excellency the duke, his holiness took Michel into his service, and desired him to proceed with what he had begun in the time of Clement, and engaged him to paint the façade of the Sistine chapel, which he had already rough-cast and divided into compartments from the ground to the ceiling."

¹ These pictures were not terminated till the year 1549, when he was seventy-five years of age *Vasari*, tom. iii., p. 200.



is From the East Judgement

was to be decorated with painting and stucco ornaments; but this part of the work was not afterwards carried into execution.

His holiness often consulted Michel Angelo as an architect, although Antonio da San Gallo was the architect of St. Peter's, and promoted to that situation by his interest when cardinal Farnese, and now employed in his private concerns. The Farnese palace in Rome was designed by S. Gallo, and the building advanced by him during his life; nevertheless Michel Angelo constructed the bold projecting cornice that surrounds the top, in conjunction with him, at the express desire of the pope. He also consulted Michel Angelo in fortifying the Borgo, and designs were made for that purpose; but the discussion of this subject proved the cause of some enmity between these two rivals in the pope's esteem.¹

In the year 1546, San Gallo died, and Michel Angelo was called upon to fill his situation as the architect of St. Peter's. He at first declined that honour, but his holiness laid his commands upon him; which admitted neither of apology nor excuse, and he accepted the appointment upon these conditions: that he would receive no salary, and that it should be so expressed in the patent, since he undertook the office purely from devotional feelings; and that, as hitherto the various persons employed in all the subordinate situations had only considered their own interest, to the extreme prejudice of the undertaking, he should be

¹ "Pope Paul, desirous of fortifying the Borgo, assembled several gentlemen to consult with San Gallo on the subject; and among others, he sent for Michel Angelo, knowing that he had designed the fortifications of Monte San Minato at Florence. After various views had been heard, Michel was asked for his judgment. He, who was of a contrary opinion to San Gallo and many others present, said so undisguisedly, whereupon San Gallo told him that his business was sculpture and painting, not engineering. Michel replied, that he knew, indeed, somewhat of painting and of sculpture; but that of fortification, from long study and practice, he knew more than San Gallo and all his family had ever done; and he proceeded, in the presence of all, to enumerate many blunders that San Gallo had committed. Words grew so high that the pope was obliged to interpose: but the result was that the original designs were not carried out, and that the gate Santo Spirito, though nearly completed, remained in its imperfect state."—*Fasari*, tom. iii., p. 280.

empowered to discharge them, and appoint others in their stead; and lastly, that he should be permitted to make whatever alteration he chose in San Gallo's design, or entirely supply its place with what he might consider more simple, or in a better style. To these conditions his holiness acceded, and the patent was made out accordingly.¹

The history of the building of St. Peter's presents a wide field of information, and I regret it is not within the limits of this work to embrace that interesting subject.² The first stone was laid by Julius II., on the 18th of April, 1506, and Bramante was appointed sole architect. Upon his death, 1514, the appointment was conferred by Leo X. on Giuliano da San Gallo, Raffaello d'Urbino, and Giocondo da Verona. Giuliano being oppressed with age and infirmity, begged leave to decline the employment, and received permission to retire to Florence. Giocondo da Verona also quitted Rome soon after, and the whole charge devolved on Raffaello. Antonio da San Gallo, the nephew of Giuliano, solicited the place of his uncle, not as chief architect, which seems originally to have been his appointment, but to be an assistant to Raffaello: in this application he succeeded, and upon the death of Raffaello, in 1520, the whole direction of the building was intrusted to his care. The designs of his predecessors were laid aside, and he substituted one more complicated; and although the work advanced very slowly for want of money, he made a model which of itself cost more than a thousand pounds sterling.³

This model being more conformable to the principles of Saracenic than of Grecian or Roman architecture, in the multiplicity and division of its parts, Michel Angelo applied himself to make an original design, upon a reduced scale,

¹ Vide Bonanni, *Templi Vaticani Historia*, p. 61.

² Those who wish for information, will find the works of Ferrabosco, Bonanni, and Fontana, the most interesting, with the *Memorie istoriche della gran Cupola*, by Sig. Marchese Gio. Poleni.

³ "This model was executed by one Antonio Labacco, of which the carpenters' work cost four thousand one hundred and eighty-four crowns." -- *Isvari, Vita di Antonio da Sangallo*, vol. ii., p. 445.

on the plan of a Greek cross. This met with the pope's approbation; for, although the dimensions were less, the form was more grand than that of San Gallo's model. It appears, from a letter by Michel Angelo still extant, that he had a high opinion of Bramante's general plan, and would most probably have adopted it, with trifling alterations, if the difficulty of raising money had not made it necessary to contract the original size to meet the exigences of the times. Clement VII. left some jewels in the treasury, but no specie. The disaffection of Germany had considerably dried up in that quarter an important source of revenue; and Henry VIII. of England, to enrich himself and gratify his passions, had also withdrawn his allegiance from the established church; with these considerations, Paul III. was desirous that such a plan might be adopted, as to leave a reasonable hope of its being completed: with a similar view, though not from the failure of resources, but from the extravagance of their application, Leo X. commissioned Peruzzi to make a design to diminish the expense.¹

During the reign of Paul III., Michel Angelo was wholly employed in works of painting and architecture, excepting the two statues made for the monument of Julius II.² From the death of San Gallo the superintendence of St. Peter's was alone sufficient to occupy his time: besides the direct advancement of that stupendous fabric, he had much to undo, which was done by his predecessor, and to contend with a host of adverse interests: for, agreeably to one of the conditions of the patent, he chose his own workmen, and dismissed those who had been formerly employed; for which he shared the fate of all reformers, however good the intention, or beneficial the end, of being maliciously spoken of, hated, and constantly opposed.

The following letter, preserved in the family of Buonarroti, in Florence, will serve to show the estimation in which Michel Angelo held the talents of Bramante, and

¹ Vide *Vasari, Vita di Baldassarre Peruzzi*, tom. ii., p. 107, et *Bonanni Templi Vaticani Historia*, tab. 13.

² According to Vasari, these two statues did not take up twelve months of his time.

the extent of masonry, constructed by his predecessor, he wished to remove.

“ TO M. BARTOLOMMEO.

“ I will not take upon me to deny that Bramante was as eminent an architect as any one that has appeared from the ancients down to our own times. He laid the foundation of St. Peter's, not with confused ideas, but with a clear and luminous mind. Its isolated situation is such as not at all to injure or interfere with the palace, which was highly approved when the design was made, and the advantages are now obvious to every one.

“ He who departs from the design of Bramante as San Gallo has done, must depart from fundamental principles; which is evident if the model be seen with impartiality. In the first place, the circle San Gallo designed on the outside takes away all the light from Bramante's plan, which of itself, in this respect, is so deficient, that the recesses above and beneath the choirs are in total darkness, affording a secure retreat for assassins, and hiding-places for thieves and vagrants of every description, so that at the close of the evening when the church is to be shut, it would require five-and-twenty persons to hunt them out, and even then it might be attended with difficulty. There would be likewise this inconvenience in surrounding Bramante's design with this circle of San Gallo: the Capella di Paolo,¹ the Stanza del Piombo,² the Rota,³ and many other places must necessarily be destroyed, nor do I think that the Sistine chapel would entirely escape. Respecting the cost of what is already done, it is said to have amounted to a hundred thousand crowns; that, however, cannot be true, because it might have been done for sixty thousand; and if it were now to be taken down, little loss would be incurred, as the foundations and materials could never come more opportunely, and the building would then be two hundred crowns better, and acquire three hundred years of additional stability.

¹ The chapel Paolina built by Paul III.

² The chamber where the seals were affixed to the pope's bulls, which are made of lead.

³ Where the auditors of the Rota met.

"This is my impartial and unprejudiced opinion, for in gaining a victory I shall be a great loser. If you will make this communication to his holiness I shall be obliged to you, as I do not feel myself well.

"MICHELAGNOLO BONARROTI."

Notwithstanding many impediments thrown in his way, this splendid edifice advanced with considerable activity: for the pope had the highest estimation of Michel Angelo's abilities, and implicit confidence in his integrity. This great undertaking, which might reasonably be supposed more than sufficient for the attention of an old man, was, however, only a part of his extensive engagements. He was commissioned to carry on the building of the Farnese Palace left unfinished by the death of San Gallo; and employed to build a palace on the Capitoline hill for the senator of Rome, two galleries for the reception of sculpture and pictures, and also to ornament this celebrated site with antique statues and relics of antiquity, from time to time dug up, and discovered in Rome and its environs.

These buildings form the three sides of a square, and the principal entrance on the fourth is defined by balustrades, and ornamented with statues and fragments of antiquity. In the centre of the square is the celebrated bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius discovered in the pontificate of Sixtus IV., and then placed before the church of S. Gio. in Laterano, but now, removed into this situation by Michel Angelo, and mounted on a pedestal.¹ At this time he also made a flight of steps leading up to the church of the convent of the Araceli, situated on the highest part of the hill, where anciently stood the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and where there are now some columns supposed to have made a part of that celebrated building. It was in this church that the bare-footed Franciscans were singing vespers, when Gibbon, musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, first thought of writing the decline and fall of Rome.

As men are generally malevolent in proportion to the

¹ This equestrian statue originally stood before the temple of M. A. Antoninus, and Faustina, in the forum.

disappointment of their mischievous hopes, so the enemies of Michel Angelo grew inveterate from the ill-success of their opposition; and to all those, who could have any influence in injuring his reputation, they did not fail to use their utmost exertion to represent him as an unworthy successor of San Gallo. Upon the death of Paul III.¹ an effort was made to remove him from his situation, but Julius III.,² who succeeded to the pontificate, was not less favourably disposed towards him than his predecessor; however, they presented a memorial, petitioning the pope to hold a committee of architects in St. Peter's, to convince his holiness that their accusations and complaints were not unfounded. At the head of this party was cardinal Salviati, nephew to Leo X., and cardinal Marcello Cervino, who was afterwards pope by the title of Marcellus II. Julius agreed to the investigation; Michel Angelo was formally arraigned, and the pope gave his personal attendance. The complainants stated, that the church wanted light, and the architects had previously furnished the two cardinals with a particular example to prove the basis of the general position, which was, that he had walled up a recess for three chapels, and made only three insufficient windows; upon which the pope asked Michel Angelo to give his reasons for having done so: he replied, "I should wish, first, to hear the deputies." Cardinal Marcello immediately said, for himself and cardinal Salviati, "We ourselves are the deputies." "Then," said Michel Angelo,

¹ Paul III. died on the 10th of November, 1549, after a pontificate of fifteen years and twenty-eight days. Among the most remarkable acts of his reign is the excommunication of Henry VIII., who was declared to be deprived of his crown and kingdom; his subjects were absolved from all obediences, all acts of religion interdicted or forbidden to be performed or celebrated in his dominions, all ecclesiastical persons were commanded to depart from his kingdoms, and the nobles were excited to rebellion against him. This bull is dated the 30th of August, 1535. It was in the reign of this pope, in the year 1540, that the jesuits were established, and the plan of that extraordinary society confirmed; and on the 1st of November, in the year 1542, the celebrated Council of Trent met to convince all men of transubstantiation, to prevent the further diminution of the papal authority, and endeavour to do that which is always impossible, reconcile the jarring opinions of contending interests.

² Julius III. was elected on the 9th of February, 1550.

"in the part of the church alluded to, over those windows are to be placed three others." "You never said that before," replied the cardinal: to which he answered with some warmth, "I am not, neither will I ever be obliged to tell your eminence, or any one else, what I ought or am disposed to do; it is your office to see that money be provided, to take care of the thieves, and to leave the building of St Peter's to me." Turning to the pope—"Holy father, you see what I gain: if these machinations to which I am exposed are not for my spiritual welfare, I lose both my labour and my time." The pope replied, putting his hands upon his shoulders, "Do not doubt, your gain is now, and will be hereafter," and gave him assurance of his confidence and esteem.

Julius prosecuted no work in architecture or sculpture without consulting him. What was done in the Vatican, or in his villa on the Flaminian Way, called, *La Vigna di Papa Giulio*, was with Michel Angelo's advice and superintendence; he also made him a design for a palace to be built adjoining to the church of St. Rocco; but it was not carried into execution, and the drawings are lost.¹

¹ Michel Angelo at this time was consulted about building the chapel in S. Pietro Montorio, to receive two monuments for cardinal di Monte, the uncle of Julius III., and Messer Fabbiano, his grandfather. The commission for these monuments, as well as the building of the chapel, was given to Vasari; but Michel Angelo was referred to to determine the price, and to recommend sculptors to execute the models in marble.

Vasari being much employed in Florence by the grand duke Cosmo I., in his absence from Rome, Michel Angelo negotiated the business, and the two following letters were written by him to Vasari upon that subject:—

"My dear Giorgio,—Concerning the building of the chapel in S. Pietro in Montorio, as the pope will not trouble himself about it, I did not write to you; knowing that you were informed of what was doing by your agent. Now, I have occasion to tell you what follows. Yesterday morning, the pope having gone to Montorio, he sent for me; and I met him on the bridge as he was returning. I had a long conversation with him about the intended monuments, and at last he said to me, he was resolved not to have them put there, but to be placed in the church de' Fiorentini; asking me what I thought of that plan? I said, that I approved of it much; reflecting, that from this circumstance the church itself would stand a chance of being finished. For your three letters which I have received, I have no pen to answer them with such high

Among the numerous avocations that occupied the attention of Michel Angelo in the pontificate of Paul III. he was employed to rebuild a bridge over the Tiber, where the Pons Palatinus anciently stood, of which a considerable part was finished, and all the materials provided. The party which was not able to remove him from his situation in St. Peter's, now used their influence, not by finding fault, but by praising his great abilities, and commiserating his old age; and from a kindness that proceeds from wishing better to ourselves than our friends, they were desirous to relieve him from this charge. As the hypocrisy was managed with sufficient skill, and Michel Angelo but little disposed to contend with the faction, he receded; the completion of the bridge was given to one Nanni di Baccio Bigio, a man wholly incompetent to the undertaking; and in five years it was washed away by a flood, agreeably to Michel Angelo's prediction, and from that time has remained a ruin, now called Ponte Rotto. Independent of any sinister view, favours may be sometimes granted with little inconvenience to unmerited claims; but when public works are to be executed, he who furnishes bad

compliments; but if I could hope in any degree to merit such, it were only that you might have a friend worthy of your commendation. But I am not surprised, as you raise men from the dead, that you should lengthen life to the living, or consign the worthless to eternal death; to make short, such as I am, I am entirely yours.

"MICHEL ANGELO BUONARROTI."

"Rome, Aug. 1, 1550."

"My dear Giorgio,—Immediately Bartolommeo arrived here I went to the pope, and perceiving that he was determined to rebuild the chapel in Montorio for the monuments, I provided him with a mason from St. Peter's. M. *Bugsbody*¹ knew it, and, after his way, was desirous of sending one of his own choosing. Not to contend with him, who gives motion to the winds, I drew back; for being a man but of little weight, I was willing to keep free from blame. However, it appears to me, that the church de' Fiorentini is not to be thought of any more. Nothing more occurs at present; remain well, and return soon.

"MICHEL ANGELO BUONARROTI."

"October 1:

¹ This person was Pier Giovanti Alietti, groom of the stole to Paul III., afterwards bishop of Forlì, and is always mentioned by Michel Angelo, by the epithet *Tantecoe*.

materials, or lends his aid to promote the interest of insufficient men, deserves the censure of all mankind.

Of the numerous friends and patrons of Michel Angelo, no one was ever more attached to him than Julius III., but as the character of this pope was less honourable than his ecclesiastical dignity, he kept himself somewhat at a distance, treating him, however, with that respect which was likely to be the best security for a reciprocity of esteem. Condivi, who was particularly patronised by the pope, says, "I am sorry; and it is also regretted by his holiness, that Michel Angelo, from a certain natural timidity, or we may say, respect or reverence, which some call pride, does not avail himself of his holiness' liberality, which is so much at his command;¹ and was used to say, that if it were possible, he would most willingly take upon himself his years, that the world might have a better chance of not being so soon deprived of so great a man; in the beginning of his pontificate, he told him, at a public audience, that if he died before himself he should be embalmed and kept in his own palace, that his body might be as permanent as his works."²

¹ § lviii

* It was at the particular desire of this pope that Condivi wrote a life of Michel Angelo, published in the third year of his pontificate, to which he prefixed the following dedication:—

"DEDICATORIA P. SANTO.

"I should not dare, unworthy servant, and of so humble fortune as I am, to appear before your holiness, if my unworthiness had not been previously dispensed with when you were pleased to invite me into your presence, and encourage me with expressions that gave me confidence and hope above my condition or my merit, by which I feel myself to be more than I am, and have followed my studies and the discipline of my beloved master with so much fervour, encouraged by your holiness, that I have been able to perform works with a hope of gathering fruit, which, if not known to futurity, may perhaps merit the grace and favour of your holiness, and make me worthy of considering myself a servant and disciple of Michel Angelo Buonarroti; the one the prince of Christianity, the other the prince of the arts of design; and to give your holiness an humble essay of what your benignity has produced in me; as, to your holiness, I have dedicated my soul and my devotion for ever, so will I dedicate, from time to time, all the works that I may produce; and this especially of the *Life of Michel Angelo*, presuming that it may be acceptable, since the virtue and the excellence of this man your holiness

In the year 1555, the pope died, after a short reign of five years;¹ and perhaps it would have been happier for Michel Angelo if they had ended their days together, for he was now eighty-one years of age, and although several years yet remained to him, they were afterwards chequered with vexation and trouble.

Cosmo I., grand duke of Tuscany, frequently solicited his return to Florence to superintend his public works, and direct the completion of those that were begun in the reign of Clement VII. By his desire he was now also employed in Rome, to build a church for the Florentines, the designs of which had been submitted to his excellency on a former occasion, with the following letter:—

“TO COSMO I., DUKE OF FLORENCE.

“Most illustrious lord and duke of Florence, — The Florentines, who had the greatest desire to build a church in Rome, to be dedicated to St. George, now, under the auspices of your lordship, having greater hope of fulfilling that desire, they have resolved upon the undertaking, and appointed a committee of five persons to carry it into effect; who have several times applied to me for a design; but knowing that pope Leo X. had begun the church, I answered them, I could not attend to their solicitation without the permission of the duke of Florence. Having now received your lordship's gracious letter, which I consider as an express command to attend to this building, I shall do it with the greatest pleasure. I have already made several designs,² among which the

has recommended me to imitate. This is as much as is needful for me to say of him. To us greater things remain than we have derived, which shall be published for the establishment of the art and their utmost refinement, and for the glory of your holiness, who patronises and protects both arts and artists. In the mean time I supplicate to offer this my first work to your holiness, with which I humbly bow to your most holy feet.

“Most unworthy servant,

“ASCANIO COGNINI.”

¹ III. died on the 23rd of March, 1555.

² Michel Angelo made five designs for this church, and a person of the name of Tiberio, a young architect, made a correct drawing of the one which was approved, and afterwards, a model in wood was made under

committee has chosen one, which I will send to you, and shall execute it if it meets with your lordship's approbation.

"It grieves me that I am far advanced in life, and that I so much feel the effects of old age as not to promise myself much in this edifice; but I will do for your lordship, with a most willing mind, all the little that I can.

&c., &c., &c.

"MICHEL ANGELO BONARROTI."

Cosmo being solicitous that the Lorenzo library should be finished, sent a person of the name of Tribolo to solicit Michel Angelo's services in Florence; but the church of St. Peter's was an object that too much occupied his attention to induce him to leave Rome. The duke then desired Vasari to obtain information from him how the materials, already hewn, might be applied to their original purpose; to which application he wrote to Vasari:—

"My dear Giorgio,—About the staircase of the library, of which so much has been said, believe me, if I could recollect the original design I should require no intreaty to do it. A certain staircase I do indeed remember as a dream, but I do not believe I can at all recollect how it was originally intended, because, what now occurs to me concerning it is, that it was an ill-judged thing. However, I will do my best to recal it to my mind. I took a quantity of cases of an oval shape, each one palm deep, but not of one width or length, and the largest was placed on the pavement at an equal distance from the door and the wall; the height of the step was discretionary; another was placed upon this so much less every way, that from the first you might ascend as gradually as you pleased, each diminishing and receding up to the door; a part of this oval staircase, on each side, had as it were two wings, with steps of the same gradation, but not oval, that the

Michel Angelo's inspection. This model Bottari remembers to have seen in a room belonging to the church of S. Giorgio de' Fiorentini, although much injured; but at the time he published his edition of Vasari (1760) it was no longer in existence, and he says, it was believed to have been burnt by the priests. There is a print of the plan of it; it, though not commonly to be met with.

middle might serve for *il Signore*, and the return of the wings curved to the wall. From the division or landing-place half way up, the staircase was to detach itself from the wall about three palms, so that the floor might not be broken in upon, and every side remain free. I am afraid my description is only fit to be laughed at, nevertheless, you may perhaps find in it something to your purpose.¹

"MICHEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.

"Rome, Sept. 28, 1555."

Cardinal Marcello being chosen pope in the room of Julius III., all hope ceased of Michel Angelo being continued as the architect of St. Peter's. Upon this election, the duke, therefore, immediately renewed his invitation; he wrote a letter to him with his own hand, and sent it express by one of the officers of his household; and Michel Angelo began to think seriously of quitting Rome, but Marcellus II. dying in the same month he was advanced to the pontificate,² the new election of Paul IV.³ made a change in the aspect of affairs, and he was requested to continue in his office. From the desire he had to promote the undertaking, and his health not being very good, he wrote to the duke to excuse himself; at the same time sent the following letter to Vasari, who was then at Florence:—

"My dear Giorgio,—I call God to witness how contrary it was to my inclination ten years ago⁴ to undertake the building of St. Peter's, forced upon me by pope Paul III. Yet if the work had been continued from that time until now with the same earnestness as it was then going on, the fabric would have been made what now I should have had pleasure in returning to; but for the want of money it advanced very slowly, and still more so as the parts were

¹ See a plan, elevation, and sections of this library, given by Giuseppe Ignazio Rossi, published in Florence 1780. in folio, entitled, *La Libreria Mediceo Laurenziana, Architettura di Michelagnolo Buonarroti.*

² Marcellus was elected on the 9th of April, 1555, and died on the 30th of the same month.

³ Paul IV. was elected on the 21st of May, 1555

⁴ San Gallo died in October, 1540; this letter was consequently written in the year 1558.

laborious and difficult to execute; so that to abandon the undertaking now, would not only be in the highest degree disgraceful, but the loss of my labour for these ten years past, which I have prosecuted with religious zeal. Thus much, in answer to your letter. I have also received one from the duke, giving me an unexpected pleasure by his condescension and politeness; for which I return to God and to his highness all the thanks I am able to bestow. I perceive that I depart from my subject, but I have lost my memory, and it is both difficult and troublesome to me to write, for it is not my art. The conclusion, however, is this, to make you understand what will necessarily follow from my giving up St. Peter's and leaving my residence here; in the first place, it would gratify a nest of thieves, the building would stand a chance of being ruined, and besides, I myself perhaps may be shut up in a prison for the remainder of my life.

"MICHEL ANGELO BONARROTI."

In the course of Michel Angelo's correspondence with the grand duke and his agents, he gave his excellency to understand that he should be happy to return to Florence, when a favourable opportunity arrived, that he could leave his weighty engagement in Rome with safety to the care of others. But in concerns of magnitude, the day of repose is often a phantom that only cheers the way to continued toil; and with men of genius and enlivened imagination, expectation is rarely grasped by human activity. The duke made his calculations agreeable to his wishes and his hopes; and as they were not realised, he expressed his dissatisfaction to the senator Buonarroti; upon which, Michel Angelo wrote this letter to his nephew to explain the misunderstanding.

"TO MESSER LIONARDO BUONARROTI.

"I would prefer death rather than be in disgrace with the duke. In all my affairs I have constantly endeavoured to adhere to the truth; and if I have delayed coming to Florence as I promised, I have always meant that it should be understood with this condition; not to depart from hence till I had so far advanced the fabric of St. Peter's

as to prevent its being spoiled by others, my composition altered, or to leave opportunity for those thieves to return and plunder, as they have been accustomed to do, and as they still expect. Being placed in this situation by Divine Providence, I have used my utmost diligence to prevent these evils. I have not yet, however, been able to succeed in advancing the building to that point which I desire, for the want of money and men, and being old, and not having any one else to whose care I could leave the undertaking; and as I serve for the love of God, in whom is all my hope, I have not been willing to abandon it.

“MICHEL ANGELO BONARROTI.

“*Rome, July 1, 1557.*”

The high respect the duke had for Michel Angelo's talents, and consideration for the circumstances in which he was placed, diminished the effects of disappointment; for when esteem is real, it is easy to find motives of reconciliation.

Paul IV. commenced his pontificate with two determined objects in view; to be revenged on his enemies by the sword, and to reform the church with the scourge of the inquisition, re-established through his influence in the reign of Paul III. Implacable hatred rankled in his heart against the viceroy of Naples, for having suspended him from the exercise of his functions as archbishop of Brundisium, in consequence of his political interference in favour of France. Against Spain he was inveterate from the injury his family sustained in the sackage of Rome in the year 1527. With these feelings, the arts made no part of his consideration. The building of St. Peter's proceeded as a work of course, and Michel Angelo continued in his situation, as necessary to its advancement; but as war had been a previous determination, the taking care to strengthen the fortifications of Rome was an object of more immediate importance; and although in this work Michel Angelo appears to have been consulted, yet Salusti Peruzzi was principally employed in the undertaking.

With a hope of uniting the kingdom of Naples to the state of the church, and punishing the viceroy, he imme-

diately declared himself hostile to the Spanish government, protesting against the legality of its claim to *oppress* the Neapolitans, whom he excited to rebellion, and subsidized France to second his views. Michel Angelo, knowing enough of the consequences of war, and but little disposed to co-operate, or to be inconvenienced by its effects, sought retirement for a short time in a monastery in the mountains of Spoleto, while the French troops were in the ecclesiastical state. In this retirement he received a book presented to him by Messer Cosimo Bartoli through the hands of Vasari, to whom he wrote a letter of thanks after his return to Rome, which shows his regret at leaving his monastic friends.

"My dear Giorgio,—I have received M. Cosmo's little book,¹ and in this I inclose a letter of thanks, which I will trouble you to deliver with my respects.

"I have lately been put to great inconvenience and expense, but I have likewise had a great deal of pleasure in visiting the monks in the mountains of Spoleto; indeed, though I am now returned to Rome, I have left the better half of myself with them; for in these troublesome times, to say the truth, there is no happiness but in such retirement. I have nothing more to tell you, but that I am glad you have good health, and that you enjoy it. Farewell.

"MICHEL ANGELO BONARROTI.

"September 18, 1556."

¹ This book was entitled, *Difesa della Lingua Fiorentina et di Dante, con le regole di far bella e numerosa la prosa*. It is principally a defence of Dante and the Florentine language, as expressed in the title, against certain criticisms of Bembo, Bernardino, Tomitano, and others. It was begun by Lenzoni, and finished by Pier Francesco Giambullari, and, in consequence of his death, left to Cosimo Bartoli to print, who published the work in quarto, 1556, dedicated to Cosmo I.

Cosimo Bartoli was an author himself, and published a work with this title: *Ragionamenti Academici, di Cosimo Bartoli, Gentiluomo, et Academico Fiorentino*, &c., 1567. He also translated into Italian the second book of Leon Battista Alberti, "*De Pictura*," and other works. He was a particular friend of Michel Angelo, and in his *Ragionamenti* he speaks of him as a genius "supernatural and divine."—pp. 19, 36.

On his return to Rome, he principally employed himself on a group of sculpture, which he meditated for an altar-piece, to honour the chapel which should be the place of his own interment. The subject was a dead Christ taken down from the Cross, and supported by the Virgin Mary, assisted by Nicodemus and Mary Magdalen. This group for many years was the amusement of his leisure hours; but the marble was unfavourable for his purpose, and he at length grew impatient, and laid it aside: the group, however, in its unfinished and imperfect state, is preserved in the cathedral of Florence.

To assist Michel Angelo in the great work of St. Peter's, Paul IV. took into his service Pirro Ligorio, an architect better known by his designs and the books he published on architecture, than by the buildings he constructed. This person was no sooner employed than he began to alter Michel Angelo's plans, and adopt his own; treating him as an old man in his second childhood, no longer worthy to be consulted. This impertinence, added to the vexation he continually experienced from the faction, which was constantly endeavouring to remove him from his situation, so disgusted him, that he was determined to be relieved from his partner, or resign; he therefore immediately made a representation to the pope, requesting to know which of the two architects his holiness preferred; upon which Ligorio was dismissed. In this advanced period of his life, the only desire he had to continue in his situation was to establish his design beyond the possibility of change. The following letter to Vasari is expressive of these feelings, and accompanied by a sonnet, as a specimen of the mode he adopted to amuse himself; according to the opinion of his adversary, the best adapted to the impaired state of his mind.

“ TO VASARI.

“It is the will of God that I still continue to be; and I know that I shall be justly called foolish and out of my mind for making sonnets; but as many say I am in my second childhood, I am willing to employ myself agreeably to my state. By yours I feel conscious of the

love you bear me, therefore I wish you to know that it is my filial desire to rest these my feeble bones by the side of those of my father, and I pray you to see that it be done.

"For me to leave this place would be the cause of ruin to the church of St. Peter's, which would be a great pity, and a greater sin; as I hope to establish it beyond the possibility of changing the design, I could wish first to accomplish that end; if I do not already commit a crime by disappointing the many co-morants who are in daily expectation of getting rid of me.

MICHEL ANGELO BONAROTTI."

SONNET.

"Well nigh the voyage now is overpast,
And my frail bark, through troubled seas and rude,
Draws near that common haven where at last
Of every action, be it evil or good,
Must due account be rendered. Well I know
How vain will then appear that favoured art,
Sole idol long, and monarch of my heart,
For all is vain that man desires below.
And now remorseful thoughts the past upbraid,
And fear of twofold death my soul alarms,
That which must come, and that beyond the grave;
Picture and sculpture lose their feeble charms,
And to that love divine I turn for aid
Who from the cross extends his arms to save."

About this time Paul IV. died,¹ which was a source of tumultuous joy to the Roman people, and to Michel Angelo of less regret than that of any former pope: one of the first acts of whose pontificate was to deprive him of the chancellorship of Rimini, without assigning any cause; and the Last Judgment in the Sistine chapel narrowly escaped from destruction by his monastic views of human life. In the commencement of his reign he conceived a notion of *reforming* that picture, in which so many academical figures offended his sense of propriety. This was communicated to Michel Angelo, who desired that the pope

¹ Paul IV. died on the 18th of August,

might be told, "that what he wished was very little, and might be easily effected; for if his holiness would only *reform* the opinions of mankind, the picture would be reformed of itself." This mode of reasoning gave the pope but little satisfaction, for he afterwards resolved to destroy it altogether, and was prevented with great difficulty by those cardinals who had influence in his councils: they represented that it would be a crime to whitewash the wall, and that his objections might be easily removed by painting over those parts only which appeared to be improper; and, by their advice, Daniello da Volterra was employed, and the picture saved.¹ Of the character of this pope it is infinitely more interesting for Englishmen to know, that to his inquisitorial and persecuting spirit, the reign of queen Mary owes more of its violence than to her unhappy temper, the weakness of her understanding or the bigotry of her disposition.

Pius IV.,² of the house of Medici, succeeded to the pontificate: Michel Angelo was continued as architect of St. Peter's, and part of the revenue of the chancellorship of Rimini was restored to him. By the desire of this pope he made a design for a monument for the marquis Marignano, to be placed in the cathedral in Milan, which was executed by Lione Lioni Aretino. He also made three designs for one of the gates of the city of Rome; that which could be executed at the least expense was selected, and in honour of the pope was called *Porta Pia*: a work extravagantly praised by Vasari and others, but those who judge without partiality will find it but little to commend. From this specimen, however, the pope was desirous to rebuild the other gates of the city, for which Michel Angelo made a number of designs. but it does not appear that any of them were executed. The façade of the

¹ From this employment Daniello da Volterra was afterwards called *il Braghettone*, as would appear from the Memoirs of Gaspero Celio. This little book, entitled, *Memoria fatta del Signor Gaspero Celio, &c.*, printed at Naples in 1638, 12mo, is extremely rare.

² Pius IV. was elected on the 24th of December, 1559.

Porta del Popolo, fronting the Via Appia, has been vaguely attributed to him, but with little probability.¹

The pope was desirous of converting the ruined baths of Dioclesian into a Christian church for the accommodation of the adjoining Carthusian monastery, and Michel Angelo was appointed architect for that purpose. The undertaking was carried into effect with great credit; and the interior of this church exhibits a striking example of the impression which can be produced by simplicity of form and grandeur of dimension. He was also employed by the cardinal Santa Fiore to build a chapel in S. Maria Maggiore, but which remained unfinished in consequence of the death of the cardinal, and was afterwards terminated from the original designs by Giacomo della Porta.²

During the prosecution of these works, the church of St. Peter was not wholly neglected; it was now advanced to the base of the cupola, and here he paused to consider what kind of dome would be best adapted to the general design, and of the best mode to construct it; at length, after the lapse of some months, he made a small model in clay, which was afterwards executed in wood to a scale, with the utmost accuracy, under his direction; but the want of money retarded the further progress of the building.

The directors, who had ever been dissatisfied, exerted themselves once more to remove him from his situation; not from anything that he did, or neglected to do, but because he could not enter into their views. He was now

¹ Bottari ascribes this gate to Vignola, from the style of architecture, and from its being erected in the pontificate of Pio IV., when that architect was in high reputation and esteem. Whether this opinion be correct or not, it is entitled to respect.

² The name of this cardinal di S. Fiore, was Guido Ascanio Sforza, chamberlain to the pope. By some it has been doubted whether Michel Angelo designed this chapel; but Bottari has made the following quotation from *Il Cicconio*, tom. iii. p. 566, to show that this scepticism was without foundation:—"S. Maria Major . . . in which church he built a chapel in honour of the Virgin, after a design of Michel Angelo's." This chapel had a superb façade, but it was destroyed by Benedict XIV., when he modernised the church, for the sake of some uniformity of plan which was then adopted.

very old, and saw that his greatest crime was that of having lived too long; and being thoroughly disgusted by their conduct, he was solicitous to resign, that his last days might not be tormented by the unprincipled exertions of a worthless faction; and this letter to cardinal di Carpi shows the state of his mind on that subject:—

“ TO THE CARDINAL DI CARPI.

“ Messer Francesco Dandini informed me yesterday that your most illustrious and most reverend lordship told him, the building of St. Peter's could not possibly proceed worse than it did, which has truly given me much uneasiness, as your eminence must have been misinformed. No one can, or ought to be more desirous than myself that it should go on well: and, if I am not deceived, I can assure you with truth, that, as far as the building has advanced, it could not have proceeded better: but, perhaps, I may be blinded by my own partiality, or deceived by my old age, and contrary to my intention have done mischief, or stood in the way of being of the service that I ought. I intend, as soon as possible, to ask my dismissal of his holiness; nay, to save time, I even intreat your eminence to liberate me from this vexatious employment, which, by the commands of the popes, as you know, I gratuitously undertook seventeen years since, during which period I have given manifest proofs of my zeal in the prosecution of the work. To return, however, to the subject; I earnestly intreat that I may be permitted to resign, which would be conferring upon me the greatest favour; and with the most respectful reverence I kiss the hands of your eminence.

“ MICHEL ANGELO BONARROTI.”

An object of the first importance to the directors, was to make Nanni Biggio the chief architect. Michel Angelo himself, receiving no salary for his labours, took care that no one was paid for that which he did not perform; and as it is usual, in public works, to derive much profit from supposed or inadequate services, Biggio was the best man that could be selected to compensate for the heavy losses sustained by Michel Angelo's inflexibility.

By reason of his advanced age, the bishop of Ferratino, who was a principal director, recommended him not to attend to the fatigue of his duty, but to nominate whomsoever he chose to supply his place. By this contrivance Michel Angelo willingly yielded to so courteous a proposition, and appointed Daniello da Volterra. As soon as this was effected, it was made the basis of accusation against him, for incapacity, which left the directors the power of choosing a successor, who immediately superseded Daniello da Volterra, and appointed Biggio in his stead.

This was so unworthy an artifice, so untrue in principle, and so injurious in its tendency, that, in justice to himself, he thought it necessary to represent the affair to the pope; at the same time requesting that it might be understood, there was nothing he more solicited than his own dismissal. His holiness took up the discussion with interest, and begged he would not retire until he made proper inquiry, and a day was immediately appointed for the directors to meet him in the convent of the Araceli. In this convention they only stated, in general terms, that Michel Angelo was ruining the building, and that the measures they had taken were essentially necessary. The pope, that he might be correctly informed, previously sent Il Signor Gabrio Serbelloni to examine minutely into the affair, a man well qualified for that purpose, and he gave his testimony so circumstantially, that the whole scheme was shown in one view, to originate in falsehood, and to have been fostered by malignity. Biggio was therefore dismissed and publicly reprimanded for his conduct, in this instance, as well as for the ruin of the bridge of S. Maria, and for his total want of ability in the port of Ancona, where he is said to have done more mischief in one day than the sea was capable of doing in ten years. The directors apologized, and acknowledged they had been misinformed; but Michel Angelo required no apology; that the pope should know the truth was all he wished; that being accomplished, he was satisfied. His holiness, however, prevailed upon him to hold his situation, and made a new arrangement, that his designs might not only be strictly executed as long as he lived, but adhered to after his death. Thus ended

the last vexatious contest, of which so many had disturbed him in the progress of that important undertaking. Contrivances and falsehood belong to the weak and the worthless; with virtue and capacity the truly great man sees only his object distinctly before him, and the most direct means of accomplishing it. No one ever felt the dignity of human nature with its noblest attributes more forcibly than Michel Angelo; and his disgust at any violation of principle was acute in proportion to his sensibility and love of truth: but with these feelings, which made him a better man, he was constantly irritated by attacks from the unprincipled pretensions of those who wished to make him subservient to sinister views.

After this discussion, the time left to him for the enjoyment of his uncontrolled authority was short; for in the month of February, 1563, he was attacked by a slow fever, which gave symptoms of his approaching death, and he desired Daniello da Volterra to write to his nephew, Leonardo Buonarroti, to come to Rome. His fever, however, increased, and his nephew not arriving, in the presence of his physician and others who were in his house, whom he ordered into his bedroom, he made this short nuncupative will—"My soul I resign to God, my body to the earth, and my worldly possessions to my nearest of kin;"¹ then admonished his attendants, "In your passage through this life remember the sufferings of Jesus Christ," and soon after delivering this charge he died, on the 17th of February, 1563.²

Three days after his death the funeral ceremonies were performed with the most honourable respect to his memory, and his remains were deposited in the church of S. Apostoli, in Rome, attended by his friends, his countrymen, and a crowded populace. The Florentine academicians, however, petitioned the grand duke of Tuscany to interpose his influence with the pope for the body to be removed to Florence, that they might have an opportunity

¹ Kasari, tom. iii. p. 304.

² The age of Michel Angelo was eighty-eight years, eleven months and fifteen days, and his father lived to the advanced age of ninety-two

of paying him due honours, and, agreeably to his own desire, lay his bones by those of his father. The Rev^d. Mon^r. Messer Vincenzio Borghini, their president, was requested to present their memorial, who accompanied it with the following letter:

"The academicians of painters and sculptors having met to consider how they might give most satisfaction to your excellency in paying some tribute of honour to the memory of Michel Angelo Buonarroti, to whom the arts are so much indebted, and our common country in particular, are desirous to know the will and pleasure of your excellency, to whom they look for assistance. I am intrusted by them, and prompted by my duty, to lay their memorial before you, having the honour this year, in the situation I am placed, of being your representative; and I do it most willingly, as their wishes appear to be excited by the most honourable motives, and still more, when I consider how much your excellency stands alone as a patron of genius; surpassing your illustrious ancestors, from whose munificence Giotto received a statue, and Fra. Filippo a marble monument, and from whom the arts derived the greatest honours.

"With these considerations I have been encouraged to recommend to your excellency the petition of the academicians to celebrate the talents of Michel Angelo, who in a peculiar manner was the scholar and protégé of Lorenzo the Magnificent. To grant their request will confer on them the greatest pleasure, stimulate the professors to emulation, gratify the public, and demonstrate to all Italy the munificence of your excellency, whom God preserve long and happy, to be a benefactor to your people, and a protector of the fine arts.

"*March 2^d 1563.*"

THE ANSWER OF THE GRAND DUKE.

"Ours most dear and reverend,—The promptitude our academy has shown to honour the memory of so singular a man as Michel Angelo Buonarroti, who has passed from this into a better life, has given us great consolation for his loss. We are not only willing to grant the memorial,

but still further, to order that means be adopted to remove the body to Florence, conformably to the will of the deceased. Thus much, therefore, we write, to encourage the members of the academy to do all in their power to celebrate the talents of so great a man, and God reward you.

"*Pisa, March 8, 1503.*"

Upon the receipt of this letter, the members of the academy presented a second memorial to the grand duke to this effect:—

"Most illustrious, &c. — From the affectionate regard your excellency has shown for the memory of Michel Angelo Buonarroto, by the means you have used through your orator in Rome to remove his body to Florence, the members of the academy of design, instituted by the grace and favour of your illustrious lordship, have unanimously deliberated that his obsequies ought to be solemnized in the best manner possible; they therefore intreat it may be your pleasure that they might be celebrated in the church of S. Lorenzo, built by your ancestors, where there are so many fine works by Michel Angelo, as well in architecture as in sculpture. We also pray that your excellency will be pleased to permit Messer Benedetto Varchi¹ to compose the funeral oration and recite it, which he has voluntarily offered, if it should be agreeable to your lordship. We also supplicate, that all those who are necessary to the solemnization of these obsequies should be ordered to attend and give their assistance. All these things, and every one, have been deliberated on, and discussed in the presence, and with the approbation of the Magnificent Messer Vincenzio Borghini, your excellency's representative in this Academy of Design."

THE ANSWER.

"Ours, most dear,—We are perfectly content fully to grant all your petitions; as, toward the extraordinary talents of Michel Angelo Buonarroto we have ever borne the same esteem that we now bear towards you. That nothing may be omitted you have proposed, and that we

¹ Benedetto Varchi was biographer to the grand duke.

may not be wanting in giving you our assistance, we have written to Messer Benedetto Varchi concerning the oration, and M. V. Borghini is ordered to see to the execution of the other parts of your petition. Remain well.

"Pisa, March 8, 1563."

THE LETTER OF THE GRAND DUKE TO M. B. VARCHI.

"Our most dear M. Benedetto,—The affection we bear towards the talents of Michel Angelo Buonarroti makes us desire that his memory be celebrated with all possible honours, and it will be grateful to us, from the love we bear to him, that you make, agreeably to the wishes of the Academy, his funeral oration; and it will further give us pleasure that you recite it yourself. Remain well.

"Pisa, March 9, 1563."

Added to these attentions, the grand duke desired that every mark of honour might be paid to his memory, and that on his part nothing should be wanting, as far as his assistance could contribute to that end.

The body was obtained by Leonardo Buonarroti, who went to Rome upon his uncle's death, and by him privately conveyed to Florence. When it arrived, which was on the eleventh of March, the coffin was placed at the foot of the altar of S. Pietro Maggiore, and afterwards removed to the church of Santa Croce. By the friars of that order, the funeral ceremony was again performed, and on the 14th of March the body finally deposited in the vault by the side of the altar, called the Altare de' Cavalcanti.¹

¹ In this church a monument was afterwards erected to him, and his bust placed on a sarcophagus. Beneath, are three statues personifying Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture. At the top is a small picture of a dead Christ, with three female figures. The whole composition of the monument is in a very bad taste. Underneath is this inscription:—

"MICHAELI ANGELO BUONAROTIO
B VETUSTA SIMONIORVM FAMILIA
SCVLPTORI PICTORI ET ARCHITECTO
TAMA OMNIBVS NOTISSIMO

LEONARDVS PATRIS AMANTISS. ET DE SE OPTIME MERITO
TRANSLATIS ROMA SVS OSSIBVS ATQVE IN HQQ TEMPLQ MAJOR
SVQ SEPVLCHRO CONDITIS CONHORTANTE SEBENISS. COSMO MED.

MAGNO METRVIAE DVCE P. C. ANN. SCL. CIC. ID. LXX.

VIXIT ANN. LXXXVIII. M. XI. D. XV."

About the year 1720 the vault was opened, and Bottari says, "that the

The remains of Michel Angelo being now laid in the sepulchre of his ancestors, three persons were deputed by the Academy to make the necessary preparations for his obsequies. In catholic countries, to honour kings and heroes, it is usual to raise a temporary mausoleum decorated with trophies or ensigns of royalty and power; but as the celebrity of Michel Angelo was derived from a different source, the genius of painting, of sculpture, and architecture, characterising his intellectual pre-eminence, were the fit objects to compose and ornament his cenotaph, and with this view the painters and sculptors employed themselves in designing and executing appropriate works.

Agreeably to the wishes of the Academy, the church of S. Lorenzo was appointed for this funeral fête, to offer up the last devotional rites for the immortality of his soul, and to proclaim to mankind the extent of his virtue and his talents. In the middle of the great nave was raised, upon a rectangular platform three feet from the pavement, a monument, somewhat in the form of a triple cube, in the style of the ancient mausoleum of Septimius Severus. The divisions, each above the other, were contracted so as to leave sufficient room for statues to surround their respective bases, and at the top was a pyramid surmounted with a figure of Fame in the attitude of flying. On the spaces left for sculpture, statues were arranged, emblematical of the various branches of knowledge connected with his professional attainments. On the façade of each division was an historical picture, in *chiar'-oscuro*, recording some circumstance or event in his life, with ornaments and appropriate inscriptions, to combine the sentiment, and connect the whole together. This cenotaph, which by the Italians is called a *Catafalco*, was twenty feet by seventeen at the base, and upwards of fifty feet in height. Such is the outline of the general composition, of which I have purposely avoided the detail, lest it might be tedious.¹ The prepa-

remains of Michel Angelo had not then lost their original form. He was habited in the costume of the ancient citizens of Florence, in a gown of green velvet, and slippers of the same.

¹ Those who wish for particulars, I refer to Vasari, who has been circumstantial and minute.—*Vite de' Pittore*, &c., tom. iii. p. 332.

rations being finished,¹ the church hung with black cloth and completely illuminated, persons of every rank assembled and assisted at the awful mass for the dead, where grandeur and sublimity were combined to interest the feelings, with appropriate music to give pathos to the solemnity. When the mass was concluded, Varchi ascended a tribunal erected on the occasion, and delivered a funeral oration to honour the memory of the deceased, to excite a just admiration for his elevated genius, and a due sense of sorrow for his loss.²

Michel Angelo was of the middle stature, bony in his make, and rather spare, although broad over the shoulders. He had a good complexion; his forehead was square, and somewhat projecting; his eyes rather small, of a hazel colour, and on his brows but little hair; his nose was flat, being disfigured from the blow he received from Torrigiano;³ his lips were thin, and, speaking anatomically, the

¹ The day on which this ceremony took place was the 14th of July, 1563.

² This oration was published immediately afterwards, consisting of sixty-three quarto pages, with this title, *Orazione Funerale di M. Benedetto Varchi fatta, e recitata da Lui pubblicamente nell' esequie di Michelagnolo Buonarroti in Firenze, nella Chiesa di San Lorenzo.*

³ Condivi says, the blow was so violent that Michel Angelo was carried home as if dead, and that for this act Torrigiano was obliged to leave Florence.

Pietro Torrigiano was a contemporary student with Michel Angelo, and a sculptor of very superior merit, but a proud, inconsiderate, and ungovernable character. Benvenuto Cellini, in his own life, has recorded this affair with Michel Angelo, as related to him by Torrigiano himself. "His conversation one day happened to turn upon Michel Angelo Buonarroti, on seeing a drawing of mine made from the celebrated cartoon of the battle of Pisa. 'This Buonarroti and I, (said Torrigiano,) when we were young men, went to study in the church of the Carmelites, in the chapel of Masaccio; and it was customary with Buonarroti to rally those who were learning to draw there. One day, amongst others, a sarcasm of his having stung me to the quick, I was extremely irritated, and, doubling my fist, gave him such a violent blow upon his nose, that I felt the bone and cartilage yield as if they had been made of paste, and the mark I then gave him he will carry to his grave.'"

B. Cellini's account of Torrigiano is,—"That he was a handsome

cranium, on the whole, was rather large in proportion to the face. He wore his beard, which was divided into two points at the bottom, not very thick, and about four inches long; his beard and the hair of his head were black, when a young man, and his countenance animated and expressive.

In his childhood he was of a weakly constitution, and,

man, but of consummate assurance, having rather the air of a *bravo* than a sculptor: above all, his strange gestures and his sonorous voice, with a manner of knitting his brows, enough to frighten every man who saw him, gave him a most tremendous appearance, and he was continually talking of his great feats amongst those bears of Englishmen, whose country he had but recently left."

We are indebted to Torrigiano for the monument of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey, finished, according to Stow, in 1519, and for which the sculptor received a thousand pounds. His ungovernable and restless habits often precipitated him into great difficulties, and the circumstances of his death furnish a melancholy instance of the vicissitude of life, and the baneful effects of inquisitorial jurisprudence.

Upon leaving England he visited Spain, and after distinguishing himself by many excellent works, was employed by the duke D'Arcos to execute in marble a Madonna and infant Christ, of the size of nature, with high promises to be rewarded in proportion to his merit. As the duke was a grandee of the first rank, Torrigiano flattered himself with proportionate expectation. After much study and application, he completed his work to his own satisfaction; and his performance was seen with delight and reverence. Impatient to possess this treasure, the duke immediately sent for it; and that his generosity might be displayed to the greatest advantage, he loaded two lacquys with the money to defray the purchase. The bulk was promising; but when the bags were found to contain nothing but brass maravedi, which amounted only to the small sum of thirty ducats, vexation and disappointment roused Torrigiano's resentment who considered this present rather as an insult, than as a reward for his merit, and, on a sudden, snatched up his mallet, and without regard to the perfection of his workmanship, or the sacred character of the image, he broke it into pieces, and dismissed the lacquys with their load of farthings to tell the tale. The grandee, with every passion alive to this merited disgrace, and perhaps impressed with horror for the sacrilegious nature of the act, presented him before the court of inquisition, and impeached him for his conduct as an infidel and a heretic. Torrigiano urged the right of an author over his own creation. Reason pleaded on his side, but Superstition sat in judgment, and he was condemned to lose his life with torture, but the holy office lost its victim—Torrighiano starved himself to death in prison (1522) to avoid its torments, and the horror of the execution. He was about fifty years of age.—*Vasari*, tom. ii., p. 76.

to guard his health with peculiar care, he was abstemious and continent; he seldom partook of the enjoyments of the table, and used to say, "that however rich I may have been, I have always lived as a poor man." He ate little, was extremely irregular in his meals, had a bad digestion, and was much troubled with the headache, which he attributed to his requiring little sleep, and the delicate state of his stomach. Notwithstanding these evils, during the meridian of life, his general health was but little impaired. Many years before his death, he was afflicted with stone and gravel, and received essential benefit from his intimate friend M. Realdo Colombo, an eminent surgeon and physician.¹ When advanced in years, he was tormented with the cramp in his legs, for which complaint he constantly wore a tight covering made of dog's skin, over which he drew his stockings and a pair of cordovan boots; in other respects, his dress conformed to the costume of his time.

In the early part of his life, he not only applied himself to sculpture and painting, but to every branch of knowledge connected in any way with those arts, and gave himself up so much to application, that he, in a great degree, withdrew from society. From this ruling passion, to cultivate his mind he became habituated to solitude; and, happy in his pursuits, he was more content to be alone than in company, by which he obtained the character of being a proud and an odd man; distinctions that never fail to be given to those with whom we wish to find fault for not resembling ourselves. When his mind was matured, he attached himself to men of learning and judgment, and in the number of his most intimate friends were ranked the highest dignitaries in the church, and the most eminent literary characters of his time. That princely cardinal, Ippolito de' Medici,² and the cardinals Bembo, Ridolfi, and Maffeo,

¹ Messer Realdo Colombo was a Cremonese, and the author of fifteen books on anatomy, printed in Venice, 1559, and afterwards in Paris, in 1572.

² Ippolito de' Medici was the natural son of duke Giuliano de' Medici, brother to Leo X. He was an extraordinary man, of whose munificence and princely style of living we have the concurring testimony of all

were distinguished for their friendship towards him; and, as an Englishman, it gives me pleasure to find cardinal Pole amongst them, entitled, "*suo amicissimo*."¹ Ippolito de' Medici was particularly partial to him, and understanding that he admired a Turkish horse of his, he sent it to him, with ten mules loaded with corn, and begged his acceptance of the gift as a mark of his esteem. Notwithstanding such men were numbered amongst his friends, he was, nevertheless, pleased with the harmless comedy of human life, and his smart repartees were always seasoned with pleasantry.² But the person of all others who ab-

contemporary writers. The following account of him has been collected by M. Tenhove, in his *Memoirs of the house of Medici*. "He was educated by the care of Leo X., and a greater genius was not to be found, nor a greater taste for the arts and sciences and letters. The learned languages were familiar to him almost from his infancy, and he excelled in verse and prose. Berni, and other writers, mention his translation into blank verse of Virgil's second book of the *Æneid*, and he was a perfect musician on every instrument. On the flute he was astonishing; he was the first violin in Italy; and on the trumpet without a rival. His liberality was boundless; to refuse a request was not in his power, and it was not with gold alone that he rewarded genius and talents. With the artist and the learned, he lived on the most friendly terms, as their equal and companion; his service had nothing harsh nor austere, nothing humiliating, and his dependents felt nothing of his superiority. But with all these excellent qualities, his fickleness and inconstancy were without example. At thirty years of age, he died, and, with probability, is supposed to have been carried off by poison. His death was a subject of general regret to men of letters, and to the virtuous of every description. He not only patronized arts, and sciences, and letters, but all the graceful exercises, and persons who excelled in them had been assembled from all the quarters of the globe. More than twenty different languages were spoken in his palace, and the music of every country echoed from its walls."

¹ According to Camden, cardinal Pole is supposed to have been born in the year 1500, and died archbishop of Canterbury, on the 17th of November, 1558. Condivi, speaking of him, says, that he possessed "rare virtue, and singular goodness of heart."

² *Condivi*, sec. lxxviii. Giuliano Burgiardini, to whom Michel Angelo once sat for his portrait to oblige Ottaviano de' Medici, and one Menigella, a very indifferent painter, are among the number of those who recommended themselves by their eccentric good nature. For these persons he occasionally made drawings and models to return their courtesy; and Vasari particularizes a model of a crucifix, beautifully executed, which he gave to Menigello, who formed a mould, and made casts of it with thick paper, and other compositions, and sold them to the country

sorbed his affections and regard, was that excellent and accomplished woman, the celebrated Vittoria Colonna, marchioness of Pescara. Her superior mind and endowments, and her partiality for his genius, impressed him with the most lively sense of esteem. For many years before her death she resided at Viterbo, and occasionally visited Rome for no other purpose than to enjoy his society. To her Michel Angelo addressed three sonnets and a madrigal, and wrote an epitaph on her death, in which his admiration of her beauty and accomplishments is tempered with the most profound respect for her character; yet that friendship, which depends upon inclination and the power between virtuous minds, reciprocally to confer marks of affection and esteem, seems not to have been quite complete: for, in a madrigal addressed to her, he says, to load with obligation those who can never repay the debt, is to oppress the feelings we mean to cherish; and though the highest sense of gratitude may supply their place, friendship so rarely to be found, which entwines the heart and makes the social sympathy complete, demands that there should be an equality both in fortune and virtue.¹

people. "Michelagnuolo, che era difficile a lavorare: per li Re, si metteva gin, lassando stare ogni lavoro, e gli faceva disegni semplici accomodati alla maniera, e volontà, come diceva Menighella; e fra l'altre gli fece fare un modello d'un Crocifisso, che era bellissimo; sopra il quale vi fece un cavo e ne formava di cartone, e d'altre mesture, e in contado gli andava vendendo."—*Vasari*, tom. iii., p. 321. This passage I have been the more particular to give in the words of the author, because it shows that the art of working in *papier machée* was known in Italy before the middle of the sixteenth century.

Benvenuto Cellini, in the life of himself, speaks of a club established by a statuary of the name of Michel Angelo, who appears to have been a facetious debauchè, if credit be given to the account of a revel held at his house. This person was a native of Siena, and I believe is only known as a sculptor, by a monument he executed in part, from a design of Peruzzi, to honour the memory of Adrian VI. He was patronized by cardinal Incefort, at whose instance the monument was made. Vasari has given a short account of him, and says, that he died at about fifty years of age. Vide la sua Opera, tom. ii. p. 260. Those circumstances are mentioned, to prevent any mistake of the Sieneſe sculptor, in the life of Benvenuto Cellini, being taken for the divine Michel Angelo, who, by this distinctive appellation, is so often mentioned by that author.

¹ Dr. Johnson, in the following passage, from a similarity of asso

In her last moments he paid her a visit, and afterwards told Condivi he grieved he had not kissed her cheek as he did her hand, since there was then but little hope of his ever seeing her again. The same writer also observes, that the recollection of her death constantly produced dejection in his mind.

Among the authors he studied and delighted in most were Dantè and Petrarch; of these, it is said, he could nearly repeat by memory all their poems. But, Dantè appears to have held the highest place in his esteem; and as a poet and a man, these two sonnets bear sufficient testimony of his admiration of him.

He from the world into the blind abyss
Descended and beheld the realms of woe;
Then to the seat of everlasting bliss,
And God's own throne, led by his thought sublime,
Alive he soar'd, and to our nether elime
Bringing a steady light, to us below
Revealed the secrets of eternity.
Ill did his thankless countrymen repay
The fine desire; that which the good and great
So often from the insensate many meet,
That evil guerdon did our Dantè find.
But gladly would I, to be such as he,
For his hard exile and calamity
Forego the happiest fortunes of mankind.

How shall we speak of him, for our blind eyes
Are all unequal to his dazzling rays?
Easier it is to blame his enemies
Than for the tongue to tell his lightest praise.
For us did he explore the realms of woe;
And at his coming did high heaven expand

ciation has almost given a translation of this madrigal.—“Friendship is seldom lasting but between equals. Benefits which cannot be repaid, and obligations which cannot be discharged, are not commonly found to increase affection; they excite gratitude, indeed, and heighten veneration; but commonly take away that easy freedom and familiarity of intercourse, without which, though there may be fidelity, zeal, and admiration, there cannot be friendship.”—*Rambler*, No. 64.

Her lofty gates, to whom his native land
 Refused to open hers. Yet shalt thou know,
 Ungrateful city, in thine own despite,
 That thou hast fostered best thy Dantè's fame;
 For virtue when oppressed appears more bright
 And brighter therefore shall his glory be,
 Suffering of all mankind most wrongfully,
 Since in the world there lives no greater name?¹

Michel Angelo, however, in his own poetical compositions, imitated Petrarch rather than Dantè; yet it is suffi-

¹ Dantè Alighieri was born at Florence in May, 1265, of an ancient and honourable family. In the early part of his life he gained some credit in a military character, distinguishing himself by his bravery in an action where the Florentines obtained a signal victory over the citizens of Arezzo. He became still more eminent by the acquisition of civil honours, and at the age of thirty-five, he rose to be one of the chief magistrates of Florence, where that dignity was conferred by the suffrages of the people. From this exaltation, the poet himself dated his principal misfortunes. Italy was at that time distracted by the contending factions of the Ghibelines and Guelphs; among the latter, Dantè took an active part. In one of the proscriptions he was banished, his possessions confiscated, and he died in exile on the 14th of September, 1321.

The person and manners of Dantè are thus described by Boccacio.* "He was of the middle stature, of a mild disposition, and, from the time he arrived at manhood, grave in his manner and deportment. His clothes were plain, and his dress always conformable to his years; his face was long, his nose aquiline, his eyes rather large than otherwise, the jaw bones prominent, and the lower lip somewhat projected beyond the upper. His complexion was dark; his hair and beard were thick, black, and crisp; and his countenance was melancholy and pensive. In his meals he was extremely moderate; in his manners most courteous and civil; and, both in public and in private life, he was admirably decorous——"

Michel Angelo, with the Florentine academicians and others, petitioned Leo X. to remove the remains of Dantè from Ravenna, where he was buried, to deposit them in his native city, and erect a monument to honour his memory. "Io Michelagnolo Schultore il medesimo a vostro Santità supplich. offerendomi al 'Divin Poeta' fare la sepultura sua, chon decente e in loco onorevole in questa Città." This petition was dated October the 20th, 1519; but was not granted, as I have before observed, p. 54.

* Giovanni Boccacio was born at Certaldo in Tuscany, 1313, and died 1375.

ciently obvious throughout his works in painting, that the poetical mind of the latter influenced his feelings. The Demons in the Last Judgment, with all their mixed and various passions, may find a prototype in "La Divina Commedia." The figures rising from the grave, mark his study of "L'Inferno, e il Purgatorio;" and the subject of the Brazen Serpent, in the Sistine chapel, must remind every reader of Canto XXV. dell' Inferno, where the flying serpents, the writhing and contortions of the human body from envenomed wounds, are described with pathos and horror: and the execution of Haman, in the opposite angle of the same ceiling, is doubtless designed from these lines:

Poi piove dentro all' alta fantasia
 Un crocifisso dispettoso e fiero
 Nella sua vista, e cotal si moria:
 Intorno ed esso era 'l grande Assuero,
 Ester sua sposa, e'l ginsto Mardocheo,
 Che fu al dire ed al far così 'ntero.

The edition of Dantè he used, was a large folio with Landino's commentary; and upon the broad margin of the leaves he designed, with a pen and ink, all the interesting subjects.¹ He also studied with equal attention the sacred writings of the Old and New Testament. His acquirements in anatomy are manifest throughout his works, and he often proposed to publish a treatise upon that subject for the use of painters and sculptors; principally to show, what muscles were brought into action in the various motions of the human body, and was only prevented by the fear that he should not be able to express himself so clearly and fully as the nature of the subject required. Albert Durer's Treatise on the Proportions of the Human Body suggested to him the usefulness of such a work; the rules and measures there laid down being, in his

¹ This book was possessed by Antonio Montanti, a sculptor and architect in Florence, who, being appointed architect to St. Peter's, removed to Rome, and shipped his marbles, bronzes, studies, and other effects, at Leghorn for Civit  Vecchia, among which was this edition of Dant . In the voyage the vessel foundered at sea, and it was unfortunately lost in the general wreck.

opinion, too mechanical and insufficient: he therefore consulted with his friend Messer Realdo Colombo upon the subject, and he sent him the body of a fine young Moor, well adapted to his purpose; he dissected it, and made his remarks: but the result was never published. It is a common opinion, that he entertained some theory upon muscular motion; but I have not been able to make that inference from any passage in his own writings, or that of any contemporary author: Condivi says he had some ingenious theory in his mind upon anatomy, but what that theory was, he does not himself seem to know, and we are left without data to form a conjecture; but it is evident that he never meant to imply, that the theory, whatever it might have been, had reference to any latent physiological principle, for he previously states "His knowledge of human anatomy, and of other animals,¹ was so correct, that those who had all their lives studied it as their profession hardly understood the subject so well: *I speak only of that department necessary to the arts of design, which indeed his works evidently demonstrate, but not as to the minutiae necessary for a surgeon.*"² When Michel Angelo first began to dissect, he was so disgusted with the offensiveness of the study that he lost his appetite; and, conceiving that his powers of digestion were impaired, for a time he desisted, yet was soon dissatisfied with himself for not being able to do what was every day done by others, without inconvenience; he therefore resumed the study, and pursued it to the fullest extent necessary to his profession. Of perspective he knew as much as was known in the age in which he lived; but this branch of knowledge was not then reduced to a science, nor governed by mathematical principles; and it ought to be observed, in justice to our own country, that that discovery was made in the beginning of the last century (1715), by Dr. Brook Taylor, who has had more voluminous commentaries on his two small pamphlets, than have been written upon any work since his time.

¹ Of the quadrupeds he dissected, the horse was the animal he paid most attention to.

² *Condivi*, § LVI e LX.

The love of wealth made no part of Michel Angelo's character; he was in no instance covetous of money, nor attentive to its accumulation; that which was sufficient for him to live respectably bounded his wishes, and he was an example of his own opinion—

“Che l'tempo è breve è 'l necessario poco.”

“Man wants but little, nor that little long.”

When he was offered commissions from the rich, with large sums, he rarely accepted them, being more stimulated by friendship and benevolence, than the desire of gain. For eighteen years he gave up the greatest part of his time to the building of St. Peter's, without emolument; and when Paul III. sent him a sum equivalent to forty pounds of our money, for one month's pay, at the commencement of his appointment, he returned it; being influenced to undertake the employment only from motives of honour and zeal. He freely assisted literary men as well as those of his own profession who were not in good circumstances, without any desire that they should be sensible of the obligation; rather wishing, at all times, to confer a benefit, than to have the reputation of it: but the most enviable instance of his liberality is a donation he made to his old and faithful servant Urbino. Michel Angelo talking to him one day, asked him, “What will become of you, Urbino, if I were to die?” He replied, “I must then serve another.” “Poor fellow,” said Michel Angelo, “I will take care thou shalt not stand in need of another master,” and immediately made him a present of two thousand crowns. An act, as Vasari exclaims, only to be expected from popes and great emperors.¹ For this servant he had a very sincere regard;

¹ To his nephew, Leonardo Buonarroti, he gave three or four thousand crowns at a time—“And at his death left him ten thousand, besides his property at Rome.”—*Vasari*.

By the following brief, Michel Angelo seems to have obtained for Urbino an appointment in the Vatican, to take care of the pictures; which place, by the Italians, is called Custodio.

Paulus Papa III. ad futuram rei memoriam.

“To preserve from every kind of injury the extraordinary pictures in

and during his last illness he waited upon him, and sate up with him by night, though he was himself then eighty-two years of age. At his death he was greatly affected, and upon that event he wrote this letter to Vasari, which does honour to his feelings:—

“My dear Giorgio,—I am but ill disposed to write; however, I will sit down to answer yours. You already know that Urbino is dead. His death has been a heavy loss to me, and the cause of excessive grief, but it has also been a most impressive lesson of the grace of God: for it has shown me that he who in his lifetime comforted me in the enjoyment of life, dying, has taught me how to die; not with reluctance, but even with a desire of death. He lived with me twenty-six years, grew rich in my service, and I found him a most rare and faithful servant; and now that I calculated upon his being the staff and repose of my old age, he is taken away, and has left me only the hope of seeing him again in Paradise. That he will go there,

the Sistine chapel, where our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the holy Roman church usually solemnize divine service; those also in the chapel Paulina painted, and now executing by our dearly beloved Michel Angelo and others, in the grand hall of our palace, at a great expense of the apostolical government. We do constitute and appoint a conservator, with a salary of six golden crowns per month, to be paid by the apostolical chamber, at the same time, and in the same manner, as to the other persons belonging to our chapel. At all future times, whenever the place becomes vacant, the appointment shall be made by the reigning pontiff, to fulfil the duties of the office required by these presents.

“By this our will and authority the office of conservator being established, we grant the same to our dearly beloved Francesco Amatori d'Urbino, who belongs to the household of the aforesaid Michel Angelo Buonarroti, with all the honours, privileges, indulgences, and prerogatives thereunto belonging, with the salary of six ducats as aforesaid, with the addition of four crowns per month for incidental expenses, to be paid by our treasurer, commencing on the first of November next ensuing; and the said Francesco Amatori d'Urbino shall be obliged to clean the pictures from dust or any other injury, and preserve them from the smoke of the lamps and candles which are used in the celebration of divine service in the chapels before named; and he shall hold this office during his life, nor be restrained from the free exercise of what appertains to the situation: and whatever is to the contrary of this our will, is declared null and void,” &c.—*Vide Lettere Pittoreche*, tom. vi. p. 24.

the beneficence of God has already given a sign in the happy serenity of his last moments; for his death caused him much less sorrow, than the concern he felt at leaving me in this treacherous world surrounded with troubles: my better part, however, is gone with him, and nothing remains to me but infinite misery. Farewell!

“MICHEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.”

Michel Angelo had a great love for his art, and a laudable desire to perpetuate his name. A friend of his regretted that he had no children to bequeath the profits acquired by his profession, to which he answered, “My works must supply their place; and if they are good for anything, they will live hereafter. It would have been unfortunate for Lorenzo Ghiberti, had he not left the doors of S. Giovanni, for his sons and his nephews have long since sold and dissipated his accumulated wealth; but his sculpture remains, and will continue to record his name to future ages.” In his professional labours, he continued to study to the end of his life, but was never satisfied with anything he did: when he saw any imperfection that might have been avoided, he easily became disgusted, rather preferring to commence his undertaking entirely anew than attempt an emendation. With this operating principle in his mind, he completed few works in sculpture. Lomazzo tells an anecdote, that cardinal Farnese one day found him, when an old man, walking alone in the Colosseum, and expressed his surprise at finding him solitary amidst the ruins; to which he replied, “I go yet to school, that I may continue to learn.”² Whether the

¹ These doors are bronze, divided into compartments containing basso-relievos on sacred subjects, and are ranked among the first productions of sculpture since the revival of the art. When Michel Angelo was once asked his opinion of them, he said they were fit to be the doors of Paradise.

² Lomazzo. *dell' idea dell' tempio della pittura*, c. 114. Gio. Paolo Lomazzo was born at Milan, 1534, and painted History Portraits, and other subjects, till he became blind in the thirty-third year of his age, and then he devoted himself to writing upon his art. In 1585, he published his most celebrated work, entitled, *Trattato dell' Arte della Pittura, Scultura, et Architettura*. In 1587, he published a large volume of poems, entitled *Grotteschi*. In 1590, he published the work from

anecdote be correctly true or not, it is evident he entertained this feeling, for there is still remaining a design by him, of an old man, with a long beard, in a child's go-cart, and an hour-glass before him, emblematical of the last stage of life, and on a scroll over his head *ANCHORA IN PARO*, in Roman capitals, denoting that no state of bodily decay or approximation to death was incompatible with intellectual improvement. He established it as a principle, that to live in credit was enough, if life was virtuously and honourably employed for the good of others and the benefit of posterity; and thus he laid up the most profitable treasure for his old age, and calculated upon its best resources; for he whose wealth serves only to enrich himself, is insulated as life declines, or surrounded by dependents, none of whom wish the continuance of his being; but he who has cultivated his mind with useful knowledge, and devoted himself to the practice of virtue, makes all nature interested in the length of his days.

As the elevation of eminent men is usually attended by calumny, or becomes an object for the hateful passions of the envious, so Michel Angelo was not exempt: but since such characters are not much attended to beyond their own circle, and do but little mischief, he overlooked them with philosophic indifference; and when he was asked why he did not resent the ill-treatment he daily experienced from the insidious conduct of Baccio Bigio, his answer was, "He who contends with the worthless can gain nothing that is worth possessing." But the fashionable violation of plausible professions amongst those of higher rank often annoyed and disgusted him; and the constant necessity of decorous simulation, to preserve the equilibrium of civilized society, was repugnant to his sense of honour and veracity. In a madrigal to his friend, Luigi del Riccio, we have a transcript of his mind under the unfavourable impression of these feelings:

which I have made the preceding extract, entitled, *Idea del Tempio della Pittura*; and in 1591, he published his last work, *Della Forma delle Muse*: all printed in 4to, in Milan.

Ill hath he chosen his-part who seeks to please
 The worthless world,—ill hath he chosen his part,
 For often must he wear the look of ease

When grief is at his heart;

And often in his hours of happier feeling
 With sorrow must his countenance be hung,
 And ever his own better thoughts concealing
 Must he in stupid grandeur's praise be loud,
 And to the errors of the ignorant crowd

Assent with lying tongue.

Thus much would I conceal that none should know
 What secret cause I have for silent woe;
 And taught by many a melancholy proof
 That those whom fortune favours it pollutes,
 I from the blind and faithless world aloof,
 Nor fear its envy nor desire its praise,
 But choose my path through solitary ways.

Towards those whom he esteemed, he was as solicitous of being beloved, as he was regardless of courtesy to his enemies. His disposition was naturally timid and patient; yet susceptible of just indignation, when he either received an injury himself, or saw it practised on another; and upon such an occasion, *Condivi* observes, he was, perhaps, more roused than those who were considered to be courageous.¹

This short epistle to a nobleman is an instance of his delicacy of mind.

My lord Marquis,—While I was in Rome, no opportunity occurred to leave the crucifix with M. Tomaso, your agent, though I can assure your lordship that I have ever been more desirous of serving you than any man I ever knew in the world. The hurry of business in which I have been involved, and which still continues to occupy my attention, prevented me from acquainting you with it; besides, love, as your lordship well knows, requires no master, nor even sleeps over that which is unattainable; and in this case, although I may appear to have been negligent, I did my best in silence, in order to accomplish what was not

¹ *Condivi*.

expected from me; but my intention has been disappointed.—He who forgets great obligations, himself deserves to be forgotten.

“MICHEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.”

The two following letters may also with propriety be inserted here, as they relate more to his private than to his public character:—

“TO VASARI.

“That you continue to think of the poor old man gives me the greatest pleasure. I am still more obliged to you for your communication of the birth of another Buonarroti, and of the fête upon the occasion, for which I return you my best thanks: nevertheless, so much pomp displeases me; man should not be gay when all the world is sad; and in my opinion, it is ill-timed to make such feasts and rejoicings for one just born, which ought the rather to be deferred, to commemorate the virtues of a well-spent life.

“Be not surprised if I do not answer you soon, and I tell you so, that I may not appear to be a merchant. For the many praises you have bestowed upon me in your letter, if I, in any degree, merited them, all I have to give would be only making a bare acknowledgment for a very small part of what I am indebted to you, and which, in this life, I shall never be able to repay, for I am old, and hope declines; but in the other world it may be our lot to balance the account: however, be it as it may, I entreat your goodness, and remain yours——

“MICHEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.

“*Rome, April, 1554.*”

“Affairs here are so so.”

“TO CORNELIA.¹

“I was aware that you were angry with me, without my knowing why; by your last, however, I think I have discovered the reason. When you sent the cheeses, you wrote to tell me that you would have sent the other things, but that the handkerchiefs were not bought; and I, to

¹ Cornelia is supposed to have been the widow of Michel Angelo's old and faithful servant Urbino, whose name I have before mentioned.

prevent your being at any expense on my account, wrote to you not to send anything more, but that it would give me the greatest pleasure to execute your commands; as you may be assured of the love I still bear to Urbino, though dead, and to all that concerns him.

"With respect to my visiting the children, or having Michel Angelo sent to me, it is necessary I should tell you how I am situated. I am without females or a confidential person; under these circumstances it would be improper to send the child, as he is yet too young, and if anything should happen to him it would give me the greatest concern: besides, the duke of Florence, for this month past, has been strongly pressing me, with the most liberal offers, to return to Florence. I have requested as much time as may be necessary to arrange my concerns, and to leave St. Peter's in a fair way; so that I calculated upon staying here all the summer, in which time I shall settle my business and yours of the *Monte della Fede*, and in the winter return to Florence, there to remain for the rest of my life; for I am now an old man, and shall not again be able to revisit Rome when I go from hence. If Michel Angelo may be intrusted to my care, I will keep him as a child of Leonardo my nephew, and will teach him all that I know, and all that his father wished him to learn. Yesterday, 27th of March, I received your last letter.

"MICHEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.

"Rome."

Michel Angelo was not married; and whether he was ever on the point of being so, is not known; that he was a man of domestic habits is certain, and possessed ardent and affectionate feelings. Although love is the principal subject which pervades his poetry, and Petrarch the sole object of his imitation, no mention is made of his Beatrice, or his Laura; her name is concealed, if she had any; but the prevalency in his day of reducing all personal feeling into Platonism and a species of unintelligible metaphysics, it is strongly to be suspected gave birth to most of his sonnets: Condivi says, "I have often heard Michel Angelo reason and discourse upon love, but never heard him

speak otherwise than upon Platonic love. As for me, I am ignorant what Plato has said upon that subject; but this I know very well, that in a long intimacy I have never heard from his mouth a single word that was not most perfectly decorous, and had for its object to extinguish in youth every improper and lawless desire, and that his own nature is a stranger to depravity."¹ The following sonnet shows this character of his mind:

SONNET.

Yes! hope may with my strong desire keep pace.
 And I be undeluded, unbetray'd;
 For, if of our affections none find grace
 In sight of Heaven, then wherefore hath God made
 The world which we inhabit? Better plea
 Love cannot have, than that in loving thee
 Glory to that eternal peace is paid,
 Who such divinity to thee imparts
 As hallows and makes pure all gentle hearts.
 His hope is treacherous only, whose love dies
 With beauty, which is varying every hour:
 But in chaste hearts, uninfluenced by the power
 Of outward change, there blooms a deathless flower
 That breathes on earth the air of Paradise.

The poem XLVII. in the collection appears to have been written from his feelings rather than his imagination; but whether the person to whom it was addressed was real, or imaginary, must be now left to conjecture; yet there is a marked character in it that would seem to point at some individual. It contains sentiments common to generous minds, when roused to indignation by the meddling interference of those whose pleasure would seem to be in proportion to the dissension they produce.

The marked distinction shown to him by the potentates of Europe corresponded to his claims. When Bajazet II solicited him to build a bridge to unite Pera to Constantinople, he sent him, at the same time, a letter of credit upon a banker in Florence, and upon all the cities on his

¹ Conditi, sect. lxxv.

way, to receive as much money as he required for his expenses; and on the frontiers of his dominions, upon whatever road he chose to take, an escort of janissaries were to be in readiness to conduct him to Constantinople. This offer was declined, as I have before observed, through the advice and persuasion of the gonfaloniere Soderini. Francis I. intreated him to visit France, and used many arguments to persuade him to reside at his court, with an offer of three thousand crowns to pay the expenses of his journey. The republic of Venice sent a person of the name of Bruciolo, to make him an offer of an annual pension of six hundred crowns to reside in that city, and a discretionary power to employ his time in whatever manner was most agreeable to himself, and to be paid for what he did, without any reference to his pension. With respect to the popes, under whose government he may be said more particularly to have lived, I have already enumerated sufficient instances to show how much he was respected and valued.

To cite all the passages of contemporary authors who have expressed enthusiasm for his genius, would be to exhaust language in seeming hyperbole. Varchi, in the extravagance of his admiration, says, that if he had been a native of Scythia under some barbarous chieftain, instead of having been born in the bright era of Lorenzo the Magnificent, yet he would have been Michel Angelo, unique in painting, unparalleled in sculpture, a perfect architect, an admirable poet, and a divine lover.¹ Claudio Tolomei, of Sienna, a writer of eminent learning, says, that Perino del Vaga, one of the great scholars of Raffaello, and all other painters, adored him, as the master, the prince, and the deity of Design.² Ariosto, among the artists whose reputation he considers to be permanent, although their works should decay, thus celebrates him with a play of words:

—“e quel, ch' à par sculpe, e colora,
Michel, più che mortal, Angel' divino.”³

¹ Due Lezzione di M. Benedetto Varchi, 4to, 1549. p. 52, 53.

² Lettere su la Pittura, tom. iv. let. ii.

³ Orlando l'amoso, xxxii.

Vasari unites in the same strain of panegyric, and justifies the epithet divine, so often bestowed on him, on principles of strict propriety.¹ Notwithstanding this strain of eulogium, to which much might be added of the same kind, the most valuable testimony to his merit is the opinion of his rival, the great Raffaello d'Urbino, who was often heard to say, he thanked God that he was born in the time of Michel Angelo Buonarroti.²

To commemorate his fame, all who could make verses employed their pens to pay some tribute to his memory, and no less than forty-five of these compositions, both in Italian and Latin, were collected and published soon after his death, in a little book entitled, "*Poesie di diversi Authori Latine e volgare, fatte nella morte di Michel Agnolo Buonarroti.*" These poems, as literary compositions, are of little value; but they serve to show the prevailing sentiment of the time, and these two verses may be considered as an epitome of all they contain.

Quantum in natura ars naturaque possit in arte
Hic qui naturæ par fuit arte docet.³

In the preceding pages I have endeavoured to trace the character of Michel Angelo as a man, which has appeared to me in all essential points entitled to honour and esteem.

¹ Vasari nell *Proemio*, p. 7.

² *Condivi*, sect. lvii.

³ From the following letter, it would seem that he was used to receive high poetical commendation in his lifetime; but from the flattery that is here indicated, it is most probable the madrigal and the sonnets alluded to were as worthless as hyperbole generally is:—

"TO NICCOLO MARFELLI.

"Messer Niccolo,—I have received your letter by the favour of M. Vincenzo Perini, with two sonnets and a madrigal. The letter and the sonnet directed to me are admirable, and no one can be so refined in his taste as to discover in them anything to refine; it is true, they praise me so much, that if I were perfection itself it would still be excessive. I see you fancy me to be what I would to God I were. I am a poor man of little account, and go on labouring in that art which God has given me, to prolong my life as much as I can; and such as I am, I am the humble servant of you and your family. For the letter and the sonnets I return you my thanks; but not as I feel obliged, because I am unequal to the acknowledgment of such distinguished courtesy.

"MICHEL ANGELO BUONARROTI."

Although his highminded philosophy made him often regardless of rank and dignity in others, and his knowledge of human nature in one view, concentrated the plausible motives and the inconstant professions of men, yet he was not morose in his disposition nor cynical in his habits. Those who knew him well, esteemed him most; and those who were worthy of his friendship, knew how to value it. The worthless flatterers of powerful ignorance, and the cunning, who at all times trust to the pervading influence of folly, feared and hated him. He was impetuous in the highest degree when he felt the slightest attack upon his integrity, and hasty in his decisions, which gave him an air of irascibility; but to all who were in need of assistance from his fortune, or his talents, he exercised a princely liberality; and to those of honourable worth, however low their station, he was kind and benevolent; he sympathised with their distress, nor ever refused assistance to lessen the weight of oppression. In the catholic faith of his ancestors he was sincere, and enjoyed its beneficent influence: he was not theoretically one man, and practically another; nor was his piety subservient to caprice or personal convenience, his religion strengthened and dignified his virtues. Such was the life and character of Michel Angelo, which I have been able to collect from the most authentic materials; and which I have written with peculiar pleasure to myself.

MICHEL ANGELO'S WORKS.

ALL human excellence has its basis in reason and propriety; and the mind, to be interested to any efficient purpose, must neither be distracted nor confused.¹ However, soaring may be the flight of genius, if permanent admiration be our hope, its course must not be directed by the caprice of fashion; but governed by unalterable laws, conformable to the great and general principles of nature. Painting, sculpture, and architecture, with all the productions of taste and science, have the same common data, and in proportion as they exhibit the powers of the understanding, or the sensibility of the heart, they will be destined to immortality.

The arts, previous to the time of Michel Angelo, had slowly but progressively advanced from the middle of the fourteenth century. When they were revived by Cimabue and Giotto,² meagre and individual form, without selection,

¹ In painting, the great principle of intelligibility is technically termed *breadth*, whether it refers to colour or to chiar'-oscuro. In architecture, when a large building is divided into small parts, with little connexion between themselves, or relation to the whole composition, and wanting bold projections, or recesses, for depths of shadow, it is said to be without *breadth* or *effect*.* In sculpture, the executive skill of the artist is shown in preserving the *demi-plat* of the figure, which is only another term for keeping one part in judicious subordination, that others may be better shown, with their true form and character; and corresponds to the half-tint in a picture.

² Cimabue died 1300, and Giotto 1336, both at sixty years of age.

* This term is also used technically in painting, to denote a concentrating principle of light and shadow.

bounded their knowledge : to combine and generalise those principles by which the arts are allied to poetry was then not known, and mechanical excellence confined to unlearned imitation was the chief object of their attainment; but with the extended views of more enlightened science, genius expanded, and latent principles were gradually unfolded. When by design and composition the human passions were expressed, chiar'-oscuro and colour were soon added, to make the representation more complete, and the art more interesting and popular: and in an age of luxury, when that which is most splendid and gives the least trouble to reflection is most admired, the thinking and philosophical schools of Florence and Rome ceased to be attractive; and if in our time gaiety of colours, and dexterity in using them, should have influenced the public taste, the works in painting of which I have to speak will be uninteresting: yet, whatever may be the opinions of the day, this principle will remain; that painting, inasmuch as it only imitates the visible appearances of bodies, and makes them sensible to our ordinary perceptions, is an art that ranks very little above the mechanical employments that fashion raw materials to our use, for the common purposes of life; but when this manipulation produces the essential qualities, which identify character and expression with our feelings, it is then that it becomes estimable as poetry, history, or biography.

Sculpture, more simple in the operation by which it is produced, is little capable of superficial attractions, being limited by the material to the characteristics of *Form*; yet the field of imitation is wide, and the power of making accurate resemblances of familiar objects with apparent facility of execution has always had charms for the vulgar of every age and nation; hence it has been often degraded by caprice, and novelties adapted to meet popular feelings, and Bernini and Bouchardon for those qualities, though with higher claims, exhausted the praise of the time in which they lived.¹ Unaffected, simple, and aggregate

¹ The monument of Urban VIII., in St. Peter's, by Bernini, is a complete example of the style of Rubens, in marble; than which, it would not be easy to point out a more remarkable instance of bad taste. Ron

beauty, are the only true elements of sculpture, and in them all subordinate considerations, trifling ornaments, and minor attractions are lost: it is an art that has grandeur and sublimity for its object, and the means ought never to be subversive of the end. Whatever is picturesque in marble is intrusive, and, like poppies in a field of corn, if luxuriant to the transient view, is poison to the reflecting mind.

Architecture claims dominion over our feelings by unity of design and conformity of character, where all the parts compose a whole, without confusion or discordance, and chiar'-oscuro unites them, to make one grand impression on the senses. Upon these principles the architecture of the Greeks will live as long as taste and judgment remain, and by the same data the works of Francesco Borromini will serve to show how the greatest science and knowledge may be misapplied.¹

Sculpture, Michel Angelo considered as his profession, which he cultivated, by having an implicit deference to nature, and a due respect for the works of his immediate predecessors, and matured his study by contemplating the principles of the ancients. He who takes for his model individual nature, and confines himself to exact imitation only, cannot hope to attain to the perfection of ideal form. Phidias, when he made his Jupiter, copied no object he had ever seen, but contemplated only that image he conceived in his mind, from Homer's description.² Michel Angelo's

billiac, who was a sculptor in this country of superior merit, has also the defect of endeavouring to make his art subservient to imitation below its character, and the *silk* robe of his statue of sir Isaac Newton, in the anti-chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge, is more admired by the many than the *flora* of the Capitol.

¹ Vide the church of the Sapienza, S. Carlino alle quattro Fontane, in Rome; with an infinite number of his works in that city in the same style.

² In strict propriety, the Grecian statues only excel nature, by bringing together such an assemblage of beautiful parts as nature was never known to bestow on one object:

“For earth-born graces sparingly impart
The symmetry supreme of perfect art.”

To illustrate this subject still further, sir Joshua Reynolds, from whose works I have taken this note, goes on to observe.—“It must be

first work of celebrity was a group of a Madonna with a dead Christ, called in Italian a Pietà. The subject in its nature is impressive; the composition is felt with appropriate simplicity; and of all his works, it is that which seems to have cost him the most laborious attention.

When this group was finished it was universally admired; but the Virgin was thought too young for the figure of Christ, and Condivi has given Michel Angelo's reasoning on that remark, which is as follows :—"Talking one day to Michel Angelo on that appearance, he answered, 'Don't you know that chaste women preserve their beauty and youthful character much longer than those who are not; how much more so, then, must be the immaculate Virgin, who cannot be supposed ever to have had a vitiated thought? and this is only according to the natural order of things; but why may we not suppose, in this particular case, that nature might be assisted by Divine interposition, to demonstrate to the world the virginity and perpetual purity of the Mother? This was not necessary in the Son, nay, rather the contrary, since Divine Omnipotence was willing to show, that the Son of God would take upon him, as he did, the body of man, with all his earthly infirmities except that of sin; and therefore it was not necessary for me to make the human subordinate to the divine character, but to consider it in the ordinary course of nature under the actual existing circumstances. Hence you ought not to wonder, that from such a consideration, I should make the most holy Virgin-mother of God, in comparison to the Son, much younger than would otherwise be required, and that I should have represented the Son at his proper age.'"

remembered that the component parts of the most perfect statue never can excel nature,—that we can form no idea of beauty beyond her work;: we can only make this rare assemblage; an assemblage so rare, that if we are to give the name of monster to what is uncommon, we might, in the words of the duke of Buckingham, call it—

" 'A faultless monster which the world ne'er saw.' " *

Sir Joshua Reynolds, vol. iii. p 113

"Sine labe monstrum."

From the time he finished this group, his execution was bold and decisive, and the facility of his hand kept pace with the vigour of his mind.

The statue of Moses, in S. Pietro in Vincolo, is a complete example, of those comprehensive powers which in different degrees are found to pervade all his subsequent works. The expression, air, and attitude of that figure, combine to form a grand personification of the author of the Pentateuch, and law-giver of the Jews, in his countenance is a dignified sternness of expression, marking a powerful intellect, and the whole style of the figure is of one uniform character; and although it has many defects, if compared with the highest examples of antiquity, yet the entire impression is sublime.

And who is he that, shap'd in sculptur'd stone,
Sits giant-like? stern monument of art
Unparallel'd, while language seems to start
From his prompt lips, and we his precepts own?
—'Tis Moses; by his beard's thick honours known,
And the twin beams that from his temples dart;
'Tis Moses; seated on the Mount apart,
Whilst yet the godhead o'er his features shone.
Such once he looked, when ocean's sounding wave
Suspended hung, and such amidst the storm,
When o'er his toes the reflux waters roar'd.
An idol calf his followers did engrave;
But had they rais'd this awe-commanding form,
Then had they with less guilt their work adored.

The figures of Day and Evening, in the monuments of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici, are in the same style of conception, but were left unfinished: the Madonna in the same room is composed with feeling and simplicity, and the statue of Lorenzo de' Medici, in his monument, is simple and majestic, without extravagance or affectation. The two statues of prisoners or slaves which were to have composed part of the original monument of Julius II., now in the National Museum in Paris, are equal to his best productions, if credit may be given to the admiration of Falconet, who, when he first saw them, said, "J'ai vu Michel-

ange; *Il est effrayant.*" and Condivi, speaking of them, says, "All who have seen them say they never saw anything more worthy of his genius." The David in Florence, and the Christ in the church of the Minerva in Rome, are less successful efforts of his genius; their character did not admit of any violence of expression, and the ideal beauty of the ancients depending on the purity of outline and correctness of form, was a subordinate quality in Michel Angelo.

As the great end of art is to strike the imagination, expression and character with him were a primary consideration; and although he set the antique sculpture before him as an example and a guide, this marked distinction is to be taken between his view of the subject and that of the ancients. He made ideal beauty and aggregate form subservient to expression; they, on the contrary, made expression and animated feelings subservient to form. The Laocœon¹ and his two sons have more expression in their countenance than all the other antique statues united; yet sir Joshua Reynolds has observed, that even in this instance, there is only the general expression of pain, and that is still more strongly expressed by the writhing and contortion of the body than by the features. In consulting all the examples which are left of ancient sculpture, it would seem, they established it as a general principle, to preserve the most perfect beauty in its most perfect state, the passions were not to be expressed; all of which may be supposed to produce distortion and deformity, more or less, in the most beautiful faces. The group of the Boxers is a remarkable instance in favour of this opinion; they are engaged in the most animated action with the greatest serenity of countenance; and without attributes, it would be difficult to discriminate between the

¹ This statue is finished with the chisel, showing an incredible command of execution; and I once heard, in Rome, a very eminent sculptor say, he believed the statue had been previously finished with the rasp and file, and that the marks of the chisel were made afterwards, to give the appearance of facility to the execution, and at the same time a roughness to the surface, which was more favourable to the general effect of the figure than if it had been left quite smooth.

Juno or the Minerva, the Bacchus or the Meleager; nevertheless, in the Apollo Pythius there is a graceful, negligent, and animated air, and in the Discobolus a vulgar eagerness of expression, which deserves to be remarked, to show the nice discrimination of character which the ancients were capable of making, when the expression was not incompatible with what they considered a higher excellence.

The Bacchus of Michel Angelo is an attempt to unite a degree of drunkenness with his character; but, inasmuch as it is effected, both the statue and the deity are disgraced; of this feeling there are several examples in antique gems, but however skilful the representation may be in a basso-relievo not exceeding the size of a medallion, it is certainly in this instance not a successful attempt, when magnified into the proportion of life. The two female figures composing part of the present monument of Julius II. are simple and elegant; and those of Morning and Night in the Lorenzo Chapel, are grand, and in unison with the composition of which they make a part.

The works of Michel Angelo have always a strong and marked character of their own; his thoughts are elevated, and his figures are conceived with dignity; and if he wants the beauty and correctness of the antique, which he certainly does in an eminent degree, his faults never degrade him into feebleness; when he is not sublime he is not insipid, the sentiment of aggrandizing his subject ever prevails, and however he may fail in the execution, his works are still entitled to the first rank among the modern productions in sculpture.

Michel Angelo was educated as a sculptor, and his knowledge and practice of painting were regulated by the principles of that art; and this is an essential consideration for those who judge of his abilities as a painter. The earliest picture of his that is known, is the Holy Family in the Gallery in Florence: it is low in tone, and what an English painter would call monotonous in its effect of *chiar'-oscuro*; but as he considered the art, embracing little more than what may be obtained by sculpture, design, and composition, were the chief objects of his atten-

tion; if more, therefore, is not performed, more ought not to be expected. Sir Joshua Reynolds observes, that Michel Angelo, as a painter, did not possess so many excellencies as Raffaello, but those he had were of the highest kind. The style of painting, which in modern language is called picturesque, was not then known; and whether, upon the whole, anything has been gained by the discovery, is yet to be determined. It is not in painting only, but in the sister arts, that this discovery has made a complete revolution.

Sculpture and architecture, in an eminent degree, have been made picturesque from the end of the sixteenth century, when the term was invented; and we are indebted to this new principle for the great popularity of the works of Borromini, whose name I have before mentioned. In S. Romolo in Florence, the capitals of columns have been placed at the bottom of the shaft; in Germany, caryatides have been represented as drunken men supporting the entablature upon flowers and fruits carried on their heads: and England has not been free from the contagion: the Dragons at the base of the Monument, and heraldic chimeras, are often introduced to enrich our Grecian architecture, to be praised, or censured, according to the taste of the times.¹ In sculpture, subsequent to the period I have mentioned, the picturesque was the leading principle of attraction: marble was made to represent silk and serge, and varied stuffs; and the nudities of Bernini were esteemed most perfect, when most like the pictures of Rubens.

In painting the great work on which Michel Angelo's fame depends, and, taking it for all in all, the greatest work of his whole life, is the ceiling of the Sistine chapel. With respect to the colouring of this assemblage of pictures, there is little attention to variety of tints, but a greatness and simplicity pervade the whole. Breadth is produced by a simple arrangement of colours, rather low

¹ The last work I am acquainted with of this picturesque Grecian style, is the steeple of the church of St. Ann's, Soho, in London, which deserves to be noticed for the variety of its composition and the novelty of its effect.

in tone, without any violence of contrast, and the general effect is grand and harmonious, though not that refined and rich harmony which is produced by a variety of broken and transparent tints. As there is no detail of colours, neither is the whole work enfeebled or confused by any minute attention to the discrimination of drapery. With Michel Angelo the clothing was no particular stuff, it was only drapery; and all the attention that is here employed, is in folding and disposing of it in such a manner as to contribute to the grandeur of the figure, and show it to the utmost advantage.

It is in the Sistine chapel where the poetical feelings of Michel Angelo are fully shown, and where his genius and imagination are most expanded. The style and cast of the figures have nothing of common nature, but a character of grandeur peculiar to themselves, proceeding from his own mind, without appearing to partake of the previous associations of other men. His sibyls and prophets exhibit with variety and energy the colossal powers of his mind; yet great as is the display of invention which he has there shown, and which is to be seen through the whole of the ceiling, no part exhibits or more strikingly marks the range of his genius, than the smaller domestic compositions in the lunettes, where, to the most homely and familiar scenes, he has given an air of greatness, without extravagance or diminution of their natural simplicity, in a style which defies competition. Whether there was any regularly digested plan of theocracy in this assemblage of pictures is not known, and no contemporary supplies us with any information. The late professor of painting has suggested an ingenious theory upon that subject:¹

¹ Speaking of the ceiling of the Sistine chapel, he observes:—"Its subject is theocracy, or the empire of religion, considered as the parent and queen of man; the origin, the progress, and final dispensation of Providence, as taught by the sacred records. Amid this imagery of primeval simplicity, whose sole object is the relation of the race to its Founder, to look for minute discrimination of character is to invert the principle of the artist's invention: here is only God with man. The veil of eternity is rent; time, space, and matter, teem in the creation of the elements and of earth; life issues from God, and adoration from man, in the creation of Adam and his mate: transgression of the pre-

but whatever was the plan, that which is at present within the sphere of our comprehension, sufficiently serves to demonstrate that his genius was vast and sublime.

The next work he executed in painting, after a lapse of thirty years, was the celebrated Last Judgment in the same chapel. From contemporary writers it would seem the public admiration of this picture was equal, if not superior, to the praise that had been bestowed upon the ceiling: the commendation of Vurchi and Vasari is circumscribed only by their want of higher terms to express the enthusiasm of their feelings. They are not, however, peculiar in wishing that the abilities of their friend should appear to have increased with declining years; and as this was the most important of his latter works, it is easy to apologise for their desire of representing it as the most perfect.

Amidst such an assemblage of figures, some groups may reasonably be expected more admirable than others, more justly conceived, or happily executed: and it cannot be denied, that there are many parts which show the plenitude of Michel Angelo's talents: yet, upon the whole, comparing him with himself, stupendous as it is, it rather marks the decline than the acmé of his genius. The satire of Salvator Rosa is well known; and though put into the mouth of the critic Biagio Martinelli, yet it appears not to be wholly unfounded:

Michel' Angelo mio, non parlo in gioco ;

Questo che dipingete à un gran Gu

Ma, del giudicio voi n' avete poco.

cept at the tree of knowledge proves the origin of evil, and of expulsion from the immediate intercourse with God; the economy of justice and grace commences in the revolutions of the Deluge, and the covenant made with Noah; and the germs of social character are traced in the subsequent scene between him and his sons; the awful synod of prophets and sibyls are the heralds of the Redeemer; and the host of patriarchs the pedigree of the Son of Man; the Lazen serpent and the fall of Haman, the giant subdued by the stripling in Goliath and David, and the conqueror destroyed by female weakness in Judith, are types of his mysterious progress, till Jonah pronounces him immortal; and the magnificence of the last judgment by showing the Saviour in the judge of man, sums up the whole, and reunites the Founder and the race."—*Lectures on Painting delivered at the Royal Academy, 1801, 4to.*



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In addition to his adopting the unphilosophical notions of the darker ages, to comply with the vulgar prejudices of his time, he has also injudiciously added some needless embellishments of his own. But the most serious exception made to the general composition by his contemporaries, was that of violating decorum, in representing so many figures without drapery. The first person who made this objection was the pope's master of the ceremonies above recited, who, seeing the picture when three parts finished, and being asked his opinion, told his holiness that it was more fit for a brothel than the pope's chapel. This circumstance caused Michel Angelo to introduce his portrait into the picture with ass's ears: and not overlooking the duties of his temporal office, he represented him as master of the ceremonies in the lower world, ordering and directing the disposal of the damned; and to heighten the character, he is entwined with a serpent, Dante's attribute of Minos.

Stavvi Minos orribilmente, e ringhia:
 Esamina le colpe nell' entrata,
 Giudica e manda, secondo ch' avvinghia.
 Dico, che quando l'anima mal nata
 Li vien dinanzi; tutta si confessa:
 E quel conoscitor delle peccata
 Vede qual luogo d'Inferno è da essa;
 Cignesi con la coda tante volte,
 Quantunque gradi vuol, che giù sia messa.¹

Inferno, Canto V.

It is recorded, that the Monsignore petitioned the pope to have this portrait taken out of the picture, and that of the painter put in its stead; to which the pope is said to have replied, "Had you been in purgatory, there might have been some remedy, but from hell 'Nulla est redemptio:'" this portrait still remains.

¹ To examine the inmost secrets of the heart, and judge of crimes, with threatening mien. Minos his station takes; and the soul, internally corrupt, before him stands dismayed, confessing all. At his command hell opens, the victims to then die abode are sent, and each his place of torment is assigned, as round himself he girts his head like tail.

How far true criticism would condemn the principle upon which these objections were founded, may be deduced from the pleasure mankind has constantly received since the most cultivated era of Greece to the present time, in the Apollo, the Venus, the Laocöon, or the Gladiator; and it can hardly be a question whether any person who has ever seen these statues could wish them to have been clothed with drapery. It must be admitted, however, that an indiscriminate application of one character of muscular form and proportion, makes the whole rather an assemblage of academic figures, than a serious, well studied, historical composition.

Another objection made to the general design, by critics less prejudiced, is, the introduction of a boat to convey the condemned souls to their place of torment: the idea being manifestly borrowed from pagan theology.¹

The objection would seem to be well founded; but when it is considered how slightly this subject is touched in

¹ The boatman, in this part of the composition, is designed from the *Inferno*, of Dantè.

“Charon demonio con occhi di bragia
 Ior accennando, tutte raccoglie
 Batte col remo qualunque s'adagia.”

Inferno, canto iii.

The following passage has been selected, by the late professor of painting, as illustrative of that part of the Last Judgment where an unhappy victim, who has fallen over the side of the boat, is dragged down by a fiend, who, with a bull-hook fastened around his neck, is accomplishing his object.

“E Graffiacea, che gli era più di contra,
 Gli arroncigliò le impegolate chiome,
 E trassel su, che mi parve una Loutra.”

Inferno, canto xxii.

In the simoniacal gulph allotted to those who have been guilty of selling offices, and making traffic of justice, Dantè has transformed them into monsters, and given to them for their habitation a bituminous element. Those who are thus condemned ascend at intervals for respiration, while demons are on the watch to seize an exhausted victim. Thus—“Graffiacan, who descried one more immediately opposite to him, twisted the hook (*uncino* understood) in his clotted hair, and drew him up, that to me he seemed like an otter.” This quotation appears to be less apt than any of Mr. Fuseli's other remarks upon the advantages Michel Angelo may be reasonably supposed to have derived from Dantè.

revealed religion, and how much is left to the imagination, the painter may perhaps be excused from following the example of the poets; and while the Centaurs and Sphingi of Tasso, and the Gorgons and Hydras of Milton, are tolerated in the greatest epic poems of the Christian world, I shall offer no apology for the Charon of Dantè and Michel Angelo.

From the high character and notoriety of the Last Judgment, the amateur might expect, at first view, to receive the strongest and most sensible impressions, but in this composition the means of art best calculated for that end are least attended to. The mind is divided and distracted by the want of a great conceptrating principle of effect; and the prevailing hue of colour is of too low a tone, to be impressive; added to which, it is partially damaged and obscured with smoke, and is therefore now, doubtless, less harmonious than when originally painted.

In Michel Angelo's great works his superior abilities are shown in the sublimity of his conceptions, and the power and facility with which they are executed: correctness, in the usual signification of the word, made no part of his admired talent, and, in this picture in particular, his knowledge of the human figure is not shown by attention to aggregate beauty, or elegance of proportion. Lord Shaftesbury has remarked, "that the greatest of the ancients as well as modern artists in statuary and painting, were ever inclined to follow this rule of Aristotle, that, τὸ καλὸν, the beautiful, or the sublime in these arts, is from the expression of greatness with order: and when they erred in their designs, it was on the side of greatness, by running into the unsizable or gigantic, rather than into the minute and delicate. Of this Michel Angelo, the great beginner and founder among the moderns, and Zeuxis¹ among the

¹ The resemblance between these eminent artists was so remarkable that it would almost seem as if Quintilian wrote of Michel Angelo, instead of Zeuxis, when he said, "Zeuxis gave great relief and large proportions to every limb and feature; and thus, he thought, added to the grandeur and majesty of painting, in imitation, as is said, of Homer himself, who describes even his women of as large a size as is compatible with a delicacy of person."—*Quinct. Inst. Or.*, lib. xii. cap. 10.

ancients, may serve as instances." This remark is well founded, and the picture of the Last Judgment is a good illustration of it; for whilst his Prophets and Sybils in the vault of the chapel are idealised to the utmost verge of sublimity, those perfect beings to whom he has assigned a place in Heaven are all copies of imperfect nature, and in form only elevated into grandeur by partaking of the style and character of the Torso.

The two large pictures of the Conversion of St. Paul and the Martyrdom of St. Peter conclude his labours in painting; and although they do not equal his former works, they show the powers of the master; but they are now so much injured by time and damp from the walls on which they are painted, as to leave but little for admiration or criticism.

These works of which I have spoken are painted in fresco, excepting the Holy Family in the gallery in Florence; and this picture was always supposed to have been painted in oil colours; but Abbate Lanzi has assured us, in a modern publication, that it is executed *a tempera*, which, if he be correct, leaves us without a single example of Michel Angelo's ever having painted in that process. The portrait he copied when a child, and smoked, to give it the appearance of the original, is the strongest evidence I have met with in any contemporary author, to show the probability of his using oil colours at any period of his life. It has been commonly said he treated oil painting with contempt, which admits of the ornamental style to a greater extent than fresco, and that he thought it an employment fit only for women and children. As this sentiment has been received from Vasari's time to our own with little discrimination or inquiry into the cause which gave rise to it, the following account may be interesting.

Sebastiano del Piombo is well known to have been a great favourite with Michel Angelo, and from the assistance he gave him upon all occasions has been numbered amongst his scholars. He made many designs for him which were painted in oil. For the church of S. Francesco in Viterbo, he painted a picture of the Virgin and a Dead Christ, and another of the Scourging of Christ, for

S. Pietro in Montorio, in Rome, both from designs of Michel Angelo; but of the latter, Vasari adds, it was thought, he also drew the Christ upon the wall, from the great difference between the style of that figure and the rest of the composition.¹ With these works he was well satisfied; but, from circumstances not explained, Sebastiano used his influence with Paul III. to have the *Last Judgment* painted in oil colours. This conduct gave him offence, and he declared, in opposition to that influence, and the pope's determination to comply with it, that he would not paint the picture, unless it were to be painted in fresco. Notwithstanding this declaration, Sebastiano prepared the wall for oil colours, and Michel Angelo gave himself no further concern about it. Some months elapsed, and he was again solicited to proceed with the undertaking: he then repeated, with warmth, his former declaration, and said, that unless the plaster were all taken down, and the work to be executed in fresco, he would have nothing to do with it; that oil painting was fit only for women, and those who were luxurious and idle; or, in other words, such as did not feel the excellences of the highest style of the art, or were too lazy to practise it; which was the case of Fra. Sebastiano. The preparations were then ordered to be destroyed, and the work was executed agreeably to the original intention.

That Michel Angelo had a correct opinion and a just value for oil painting, there is sufficient evidence in the approbation he gave to Fra. Sebastiano himself, Jacopo

¹ Sebastiano also painted a picture of the Resurrection of Lazarus, under the direction of Michel Angelo, who corrected the design in some places; but there is no evidence that the composition was made by him, or that he executed any part of the picture. "Sebastiano executed a picture of the same size as the Transfiguration, and, as it were, in competition with Raffaello, representing the Resurrection of Lazarus, which he painted with the greatest care, under the direction of Michel Angelo, and in some parts after his design. When the two pictures were completed, they were both hung in the Consistory, side by side, and both were infinitely commended. And though the work of Raffaello, from its extreme grace and beauty, was acknowledged to be chief in merit, yet the production of Sebastiano's pencil was universally and warmly admired."—*Vita di Sebastiano Veneziano*, tom. ii. p. 471.

da Puntormo,¹ and Marcello Venusti,² who painted many of his designs in oil, and never in any other process: and his observations upon Titian after visiting him in the Vatican, while he was painting the Danae, will show, if properly considered, that he neither disdained nor undervalued the merit of that mode of painting. This visit was made in company with Vasari, who says, "After we left Titian, Michel Angelo passed very high commendation on what he had seen, and said, that his colouring pleased him exceedingly; but it was a pity that the Venetian painters did not ground themselves well in a correct knowledge of drawing in their youth, and adopt a better mode of study; with those advantages this man might have been as eminent in design as he is true to nature and masterly in counterfeiting the life, and then nothing could be desired better or more perfect; for he has an exquisite perception, and a delightful spirit and manner."³ This feeling corresponds in a high degree with the opinion of the greatest colourist our country has produced, who regrets he had not himself trod in those steps;⁴ although he entertained some doubts

¹ Jacopo da Puntormo painted, from the designs of Michel Angelo, a composition of a Venus and Cupid, and Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene in the garden, than which, he said, no one could have executed them better. Of this artist, when Michel Angelo was shown a picture of him, at nineteen years of age, he said, "This young man, from what is to be seen in this specimen, if he lives and proceeds, will be able to place the art in Heaven."—*Vita di Jacopo da Puntormo*, tom. ii. pp. 645, 662.

² Marcello Venusti made an infinity of small pictures from the designs of Michel Angelo; he also made a copy of the Last Judgment, now in the possession of the king of Naples; for Messer Tommaso de' Cava here he painted a picture of the Annunciation for the church of S. Giovanni in Laterano, from Michel Angelo's design.—*Vasari*, tom. iii. p. 451.

³ *V. Vita di Tiziano Vecelli*, tom. iii. p. 386.

⁴ "If the high esteem and veneration in which Michel Angelo has been held by all nations and in all ages, should be put to the account of prejudice, it must still be granted that those prejudices could not have been entertained without a cause; the ground of our prejudice then becomes the source of our admiration. But from whatever it proceeds, or whatever it is called, it will not, I hope, be thought presumptuous in me to appear in the train, I cannot say of his imitators, but of his admirers. I have taken another course, one more suited to my abili-

whether the fascinating perfection of the Venetian style could be perfectly united with the simplicity and grandeur of the Roman school.

In one of his admirable discourses delivered to the Academy, he observes, that, "however great the difference is between the composition of the Venetian and the rest of the Italian schools, there is full as great a disparity in the effect of their pictures as produced by colours. And though in this respect the Venetians must be allowed extraordinary skill, yet even that skill, as they have employed it, will but ill correspond with the great style. Their colouring is not only too brilliant, but, I will venture to say, too harmonious to produce that solidity, steadiness, and simplicity of effect, which heroic subjects require, and which simple or grave colours only can give to a work." Sir Joshua, also, in his commendation of Ludovico Carracci, whom he considered as approaching the nearest to perfection as a painter, says, that his unaffected breadth of light and shadow and simplicity of colouring which holds its proper rank, does not, in his best works, draw aside the least part of the attention from the subject, and the solemn effect of that twilight which seems diffused over his pictures, appears to correspond with grave and dignified subjects better than the more artificial brilliancy of sunshine which enlightens the pictures of Titian.¹

Fresco painting was a process more adapted to Michel Angelo's monumental style of composition, which, as it excluded attention to minute elegancies, was more favourable to grandeur of design, and it is on this process that Sir Joshua Reynolds very justly observes, "the fame of the greatest masters depends: such are the pictures of Michel Angelo and Raffaello in the Vatican; to which we may add

ties and to the taste of the times in which I live. Yet, however unequal I feel myself to that attempt, were I now to begin the world again I would tread in the steps of that great master; to kiss the hem of his garment, to catch the slightest of his perfections, would be glory and distinction enough for an ambitious man."—*Sir Joshua Reynolds* vol. ii. p. 216.

¹ *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, vol. i. p. 39. This opinion is amplified in a variety of instances in his literary works.

the Cartoons; which, though not strictly to be called fresco, yet may be put under that denomination; and such are the works of Giulio Romano at Mantua. If these performances were destroyed, with them would be lost the best part of the reputation of those illustrious painters; for these are justly considered as the greatest efforts of our art which the world can boast. To these, therefore, we should principally direct our attention for higher excellences. As for the lower arts, as they have been once discovered, they may be easily attained by those possessed of the former.¹

"The poetical part of the art, Michel Angelo possessed in a most eminent degree, and the same daring spirit which urged him first to explore the unknown regions of the imagination, impelled him forward in his career beyond those limits which his followers, destitute of the same incentives, had not strength to pass. He was the bright luminary from whom painting has borrowed a new lustre, under whose hands it assumed a new appearance, and became another and superior art, and from whom all his contemporaries and successors have derived whatever they have possessed of the dignified and majestic."²

About the time when he finished his labours in painting, there was a controversy in Florence among the amateurs, whether, of the two arts, painting or sculpture, was the most noble; or, in other words, which required the most talent and genius? and Michel Angelo was applied to by

¹ It is worthy of observation, that in the corner of the picture of the Last Judgment, where Charon and the demons are painted, there is an evident attempt at glazing with advantage, and the only instance I have ever seen in fresco painting. This was the last part of the picture finished, and here Michel Angelo seems to have made some experiments in colouring; for the head, plate ix. in the collection I published, is painted with a thick coat of colour, as if wax had been employed, and with the greatest clearness and brilliancy in the style of execution. The head of the Monsignore is also treated with a freedom and facility of manner which does not pervade his fresco works, while the head, plate v. in the same collection, is dry and hard. This examination was expressly made, in the year 1798, in order to gain correct information of the particulars here stated.

² *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, vol. ii. p. 197.

Messer Benedetto Varchi for his opinion, which he gave in the following letter:—

“TO M. BENEDETTO VARCHI.

“As I have received your little book, I will say a few words on the subject of your inquiry, though incompetent to the task. Of the relative importance of painting and sculpture, I think painting excellent in proportion as it approaches rilievo, and rilievo bad in proportion as it partakes of the character of a picture, and therefore I was used to be of opinion that painting might be considered as borrowing light from sculpture, and the difference between them as the sun and moon. Now, however, since I have read your dissertation, which treats the subject philosophically, and shows that those things which have the same end, are one and the same, I have changed my opinion, and say that, if greater judgment, labour, difficulty, and impediment, confer no dignity on the work on which it is bestowed, painting and sculpture may be considered without giving the pre-eminence to either: and since it has been so considered, no painter ought to undervalue sculpture, and in like manner no sculptor ought to make light of painting.

“The sculptor arrives at his end by taking away what is superfluous; the painter produces his, by adding the materials, which embody the representation to the mind: however, after all, they are both produced by the same intelligence, and the superiority is not worth disputing about, since more time may be lost in the discussion than would produce the works themselves. If he who has decided that painting is more noble than sculpture, was as conversant on other subjects, my old woman would have written better. There are an infinite number of ideas that might be started upon similar subjects, which have never yet been discussed; but, as I have already observed, they would occupy too much time; and as I am not only old, but, as it were, numbered with the dead, I have little to spare, therefore I hope you will excuse me, and accept my humble thanks for the too great honour you have done me, of which I feel myself so little deserving.

MICHEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.”

In architecture, it does not appear that Michel Angelo ever received regular instruction from any professional man, but derived his information from his own study, and the use of books; nor did he consider architecture as his profession; on that account, when Paul III. appointed him to succeed San Gallo in the building of St. Peter's, he repeatedly refused to accept the appointment.¹ The first instance that occurs of his being employed as an architect, is by Leo X., to build the façade of the church of S. Lorenzo in Florence, left unfinished by Brunelleschi, but of which, as I have before observed, there was little or nothing done during his pontificate. By Clement VII. he was commissioned to build the Lorenzo library, and what was denominated the new sacristy; and a mausoleum for the Medici family, called the Capella de' Medici, neither of which, from the unsettled state of affairs in Italy, was completed till the close of his life; nevertheless, as they were executed from the original designs, they may with propriety be considered as his earliest works in architecture. In the new sacristy are the monuments of Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici.²

The Chapel de' Medici is an octagonal room, richly incrustured with jasper, oriental agate, chalcedony, lapis lazuli, &c., to receive the remains of the sovereign dukes of Florence. One of the eight sides is occupied by an altar, and another with the entrance door; the six remaining sides have each a sarcophagus, similar in form to those which support the recumbent figures in the new sacristy; four are made of Egyptian, and two of oriental granite, and over them semicircular niches adapted to receive large whole-length statues; two only are occupied, but inscriptions are placed under each, to mark respectively to whom they belong.³ This room has nothing to recommend it,

¹ *Conditi*, sect. lxi.

² This new sacristy is also called the Chapel of the Princes.

³ COSMUS MAG. DUX. ETR. I. VIX. ANN. LV. OB. IX. KAL. MAII 1574.

FRANCISCUS MAG. DUX. ETR. II. VIX. ANN. 18. OB. 19 OCT. 1587.

FERDINANDUS MAG. DUX. ETR. III. VIX. ANN. 60. OB. 7 FEB. 1609.

COSMUS MAG. DUX. ETR. IV. VIX. ANN. 30. OB. 26 FEB. 1621.

FERDINANDUS MAG. DUX. ETR. V. VIX. ANN. 59. OB. IX. KAL. JUN. 1670.

COSMUS MAG. DUX. ETR. VI. VIX. ANN. 51. OB. 31 OCT. 1723.

but its infinite labour and expense. The style of the tombs is extremely heavy, and their grandeur and simplicity destroyed, by making the general form subservient to useless mouldings and ponderous scrolls.

The Lorenzo library is a gallery about an hundred and fifty feet long, and thirty-five feet wide, and may be considered as a plain room, simply adapted to the purpose for which it was intended;¹ to this there is a kind of ante-room crowded with architectural decoration, in a style exceedingly bad, with compound pediments and coupled columns let into the wall, to support nothing. In the antiquities of Rome I am aware that there are two examples of columns placed in niches, the one called the Sepolcro di Pesone Liciniano, on the Via Appia; and the other in a brick temple out of the Porta Latina, called Il Tempio delle Camene, where the columns are octagonal; but no authority can authorize such a violation of principle, unless in an extreme case, where some variety may be wanted, in a massive and extended wall, to produce an union of style, to harmonize it with the general character of the building, of which it makes a part.

Among the architectural designs of St Peter's, published in Bonanni's History, the section by Michel Angelo is grand. To criticise St. Peter's with any accuracy, would require that all the parts should be considered, as well as the whole; but without plans, elevations, and sections, it would not be possible to make any minute investigation intelligible.

When a nation is rich enough to have a work of vast dimensions, a sufficiency of mathematical knowledge to construct it, would, of itself, produce a sort of appropriate fitness; and parts might be easily multiplied, so as to create surprise. But we ought not to be deceived by

¹ This library, before the French revolution, was said to contain 14,900 MSS., among which was the celebrated copy of the Pandects of Justinian, found at Amalfi about the year 1130; a Latin Bible of the sixth, and a Virgil of the fifth century, in which the four first verses, beginning, "Ille ego qui quondam," do not begin the *Æneid*, but "Arma virumque cano," agreeably to the opinion of the best commentators.

specious appearances in architecture, more than in any other human toil; and, although labour has its merit, and little can be done without it, he deserves the most praise who can produce the greatest effect and the most lasting impression with the least manual exertion; but with the public at large, extent of dimension alone is always considered synonymous with grandeur, however little skill may be employed; and with the vulgar, nothing is more common than for this character to be decided by actual measurement.

Without attempting to define the different causes which make an impression of sublimity on the mind, it is an acknowledged feeling, that succession and uniformity of parts, combined with greatness of dimension, contribute to that end. St. Peter's, however, in its present state, with all the advantage of dimension in every way, is a remarkable instance how human ingenuity can be exercised in diminishing the effect of its own powers. Instead of the awful grandeur which might reasonably be expected from the magnitude of the building, splendour and variety divert the attention, its solemnity is lost in the diffusion of light, and its size apparently diminished by the PARTS occupying that attention which ought to be absorbed in the WHOLE. Yet this last defect has been praised by Addison, Baron Stolberg, Lumisden, and other writers; and the disappointment universally produced, by its apparent want of magnitude, has been attributed by them to the exactness of its proportions. If to impress the mind with grandeur and sublimity in edifices dedicated to religion be desirable, that building must be defective which fritters away the attention of the beholder, however beautiful the parts may be of which it is composed. The ancient Pantheon is an example of the first authority, of what can be produced by a just feeling of the true principles of architecture. There, simplicity and grandeur are happily combined, though now comparatively seen in a ruined state; and however we may admire great works, or cultivate a partiality for their defects, it is obvious that the architect of St. Peter's, if he had no other merit, would deserve but little praise for making the largest and most magnificent temple in the

world appear to be less sublime than the original model of its dome.

The work of Michel Angelo entitled to the highest commendation, is the cortile of the Farnese palace, and the projecting cornice which surrounds the top on the exterior. It is, however, extremely difficult to say how much of this design belongs to him, or how much to San Gallo. Of the cortile we know that San Gallo carried it up to the first story, and that the construction of the rest was left to Michel Angelo by his death. Whether he altered the original design, adopted a new one, or adhered to the old, is uncertain; yet of this we may be assured, that the building as it now is, was agreeable to Michel Angelo's wishes, or he would not have constructed it. The cornice, and the general lines of the building, are such as might be expected from the predominant character of his feelings.

The galleries on the Capitoline Hill are complex, and far from being specimens of a good style. The Porta Pia, which was the simplest of three designs, and on which account Michel Angelo regretted its being adopted, is of itself a most unfortunate example of bad taste, and if the others possessed a greater variety of the same character, his reputation can suffer nothing by their loss. The prevailing notion in his mind seems to have been variety and novelty, and when Condivi bestows the most flattering encomium on the improved taste of his old age, he says, that he designed a palace for Julius III., the façade of which was "entirely original, not having embarrassed himself with the rules of his predecessors, either ancient or modern," and Vasari informs us, that the composite order received such great perfection from him, that the other orders could not stand in comparison with it, and that he worked miracles wherever he put his hand.¹ This kind of praise is common to Varchi, and to the other panegyrists of his time; but to those who know anything of architecture, and the principles on which either beauty or grandeur depend, will neither be inclined to give the composite order so decided a preference, nor think more highly

¹ *Introduzione*, p. 24.

of the abilities of the man who entirely departs from fundamental principles.

The remains of ancient architecture were but little understood. The chequered black and white marble of Brunelleschi, in the exterior of public buildings, was the fashion of his day, and whatever partook of novelty in its appearance had sufficient claims to public approbation. Notwithstanding his taste and style of design were very little conformable to ancient simplicity, it was the misfortune of Michel Angelo to consider him more worthy to be imitated than departed from.¹ Two years before Brunelleschi died, Bramante was born, and with a better regulated genius than any of his predecessors, he adopted principles more simple and solid, and endeavoured to tread

¹ When the dome of the Medici chapel was terminating. Michel Angelo was complimented by his friends, that he had made the lantern more complicated than that by Brunelleschi, in the cathedral; to which he replied, "It is easy to make it different, but not better."

Correct taste, with sound judgment, is, perhaps, the rarest quality of the human mind. Genius is common to every age; and learning and science have more or less illumined every state of civilized society; but since the bright æra of Greece and Rome, it would be difficult to find the same happy combination of talents, which invention has not been able to obliterate, nor criticism to reduce below the standard of excellence. The façade of St. Peter's, erected by Maderno at the beginning of the seventeenth century, is a striking example of the multiplication of parts, and prodigality of expense, to produce littleness.

On the bronze doors of the church, ornamented with basso relievos, Jupiter and Leda has a place among the subjects of Christian theology; and the noble Egyptian obelisk, eighty feet high, in the piazza, is supported on little bronze lions, on a pedestal of Grecian architecture. Such instances of bad taste are innumerable in every country, although in other respects cultivation and refinement may prevail.

The Last Judgment, of which I have already spoken, was freely censured; and the celebrated satirist and critic, Aretino, concurred in the prevailing sentiment of the times; but, in describing how the subject ought to have been treated, he has shown that his own refinement was not advanced beyond the age in which he lived. "Out of the mouth of the Son of God, I see, in the form of two arrows, the grand sentence of salvation and damnation." Raffaello chose for the subject of a Christian chapel heathen deities presiding over the planets; and, in our own time, the learned Dr. Smith, of Cambridge, has furnished us with a striking example of bad taste in the great window of Trinity Library, where H. M. George III, Minerva, Lord Bacon, and Sir Isaac Newton, are all introduced together, in costume.

in the steps of the ancients. For cardinal Wolsey he built a palace in Rome, which marks an improved taste: but a little chapel, erected in the cortile of the convent of S. Pietro in Montorio, where he has copied the temple at Tivoli, with some additions of his own, shows his sense of the superior excellence of that exquisite vestige of antiquity, though he was not able to finish his building in the same perfection of design; yet, with all its defects, it is now perhaps among the best specimens of modern architecture in Rome: but the person to whom Italy was most indebted for the improvement of public taste, was Michele San Michele, of Verona,¹ whose works in his native city are as honourable to his name, as those of Vicenza are to his successor, the great Andrea Palladio. The taste of Michel Angelo appears to have been misled by some previous associations which it would now be in vain to seek. In a letter, addressed to a gentleman who had probably made some inquiries upon the subject of architecture, he has expressed this singular opinion: that ability in that art depended upon a knowledge of the human figure, and more especially upon anatomy.

“Most reverend sir,—When a design in architecture has different parts, all equal, and of the same character, the decorations ought to be of one character also, and executed in the same style; and the same rule is to be observed in corresponding parts. But when the design is entirely changed, it is not only allowable, but necessary to change its decoration; and the same principle is to be observed in the parts which are meant to correspond: the architect, however, always having full liberty to choose for himself, in the first instance, the style of ornament best adapted to his purpose. The nose, for example, in the middle of the face, does not depend upon the one eye or upon the other: but it is necessary that the one hand should be like the

¹ San Michele was born 1484, and died 1559. He was not only the best civil architect of his time, but he was the inventor of the modern system of fortification, of which Pagan, Blondel, Vauban, and others, availed themselves, to obtain that distinction which is respectively attached to their names.

other, and that both the eyes should correspond, as well with respect to each other as to the parts of the face in which they are situated. It is also certain, that the members of architecture have a reference to those of the human body, and he who does not understand the human figure, and particularly anatomy, can know nothing of the subject.

“MICHEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.”

It is evident from this letter that Michel Angelo theorized on some of the odd notions of Vitruvius, who makes every branch of science and knowledge subservient to architecture, and that he originally adopted the taste of his own country, without duly considering the true principles which are best adapted to make a lasting impression on the mind. To his talents as a military architect, the celebrated Vauban bears honourable testimony. When he passed through Florence, he made a plan of his fortification, and measured every part of it.

To judge of Michel Angelo as a poet, the reader must necessarily be referred to his works in their original language, and little else remains to me than to point out those I have thought the most important to his reputation. His poems were first collected by his nephew, Leonardo Buonarroti, and published in the year 1623, by his great nephew Michel Angelo Buonarroti, whose poetical works are well known to those who are conversant in Italian poetry, by his “*La Fiera*,” a comedy, in twenty-five acts; and “*La Tancia*,” a pastoral comedy which has given to his name a rank among the Tuscan literati.¹ Many sonnets

¹ Of these literary compositions, Baretti has given the following account:—

“While the academicians della Crusca were compiling their dictionary, Michel Angelo Buonarroti il Giovine writ a comedy in twenty-five acts, or rather five comedies following one another, entitled, *La Fiera*; or, *the Mart*: in which he introduced very many people, each speaking of his own trade, in order to furnish the academicians with common and vulgar words seldom to be met with in writers. This comedy was printed in Florence, by Tartini e Franchi, 1720, in folio, with a multitude of notes, by the learned abbot Antonmaria Salvini.

“*La Tancia Commedia Rusticate*, by the same Buonarroti.”

and other compositions had been previously published by Giolito, and some were printed in his lifetime, and commented on with the most extravagant praise. Varchi, upon one of them, CXII. in the collection, has been laboriously diffuse; and, from the following letter, Michel Angelo appears to have felt himself much flattered by the compliment.¹

“TO M. LUCA MARTINI.

“Magnificent M. Luca,—By the hand of M. Bartolommeo Bettini I have received your favour, with a commentary on one of my sonnets. The sonnet, indeed, is mine, but the commentary is from above, and is really admirable; not only according to my judgment, but according to the opinion of eminent men, and in particular that of M. Donato Giannotti, who is never tired of reading it, and who desires to be remembered to you. As for the sonnet, I know well enough what it is; but, be it as it may, I cannot conceal a little vain-glory in having been the occasion of so excellent and learned a commentary, which makes me feel an importance that does not belong to me: therefore I intreat you to make the returns that are due to so much esteem, respect, and politeness. I intreat you to do this, because I feel my own unworthiness: he that has reputation ought not to tempt fortune, for it is better to be stationary than to fall from a height. I am old, and death has deprived me of juvenile thoughts; and he who does not know what old age is, let him have patience enough to wait its arrival, and then he will. Remember me to Varchi as I have requested you; and with the highest esteem and affection, I am, ever yours,

“MICHEL ANGELO BUONARROTI.”

in Florence, by Cosmío Giunti, 1612, in quarto, and in 1615 in octavo, and reprinted with the above *Fiera*, with notes by the same Salvini. *La Fiera* is in verse of different metres; *La Trancia* is in ottavina, and in the dialect of the Florentine peasants; and, in my opinion, is the best and most pleasing comedy in our language.”—*Bartolli's Italian Library*, p. 122. London, 1757.

¹ In the year 1726 Bottari printed, in Florence, a second edition of Michel Angelo's poems in 12mo, with this title, *Rime di Michelagnolo Buonarroti il Vecchio, con una Lezione di Benedetto Varchi, e due di Mario Guiducci sopra di esse.*

He was eighty-one years of age when he composed the sonnet alluded to, which he sent to Vasari, with many others, as the productions of his leisure hours, and the amusement of his old age. On the authority of Condivi, he applied himself to the perusal of the Italian poets and orators, and composed sonnets before the accession of Julius II., who, as I have already observed, immediately on his being advanced to the pontificate, sent for him to Rome, and employed him in public works: but it is probable that he wrote at very different periods, as subjects occurred to his mind, and as he felt disposed to imitate Petrarch. In some instances he has been successful; the love sonnet LXX. in the collection is written with great facility, and some of his religious sonnets show that he felt the rhythm and poetical harmony of the Italian language. As they show, too, the religious feeling of Michel Angelo's mind, I have therefore translated one of them into prose, that it may be more generally understood :

" TO THE SUPREME BEING.

" My prayers will be sweet if thou lendest me virtue to make them worthy to be heard: my unfruitful soil cannot produce virtue of itself. Thou knowest the seed, and how to sow it, that will spring up in the mind to produce just and pious works: if THOU showest him not the hallowed path, no one by his own knowledge can follow thee. Pour thou into my mind the thoughts that may conduct me in thy holy steps, and endue me with a fervent tongue, that I may always praise, exalt, and sing thy glory."

The following translations of other poems will be acceptable: -

ALAS! alas! the mirror which tells truth to all,
Tells me that I am old,
And warns me of my fleeting days:
Thus it comes to him, who loves delay,
As now 'tis come to me, whose time is flown
And like me, finds himself in years

Altho' Death tread upon my steps,
 I neither can prepare, repent, nor counsel take.
 Enemy to myself,
 Nor is there solace to be found in sighs or lamentation:
 He who loses time can know no greater loss.

In retrospect, alas! alas!
 I do not find in all the time that's past,
 A single day that I can call mine own.
 Fallacious hopes and vain desires,
 With every varying passion,
 Have made me sensible to every change,
 And taught me how to know the human heart,
 From whence, may come what may, and be no longer new
 Far from the truth I've been,
 And what of life remains is now o'ercast
 With ills, that wait on life's decline.

Tired I go, alas! but do not well know where.
 Fear appals me, for my sand is run,
 And winter's frost I feel through all my limbs:
 Daily I see my frame decay,
 Nor would it aught avail to see it not.
 On my hereafter state, Death and the soul hourly dispute;
 And if I am not deceived,
 One wills that I should go, one that I should stay.
 Eternal punishment is mine
 If aught I have perverted, or misused the truth;
 But, in thee, O Lord, I feel my hope is sure.

He who knows not how his WILL is free
 Has no excuse to render, and no gifts to share.

FRAGMENT.

* * * *

And sweet it is to see in summer time
 The daring goats upon a rocky hill,
 Climb here and there, still browsing as they climb,
 While, far below, on rugged pipe and shrill
 The Master vents his pain; or homely rhyme
 He chaunts; now changing place, now standing still
 While his beloved, cold of heart and stern!
 Looks from the shade in sober unconcern.

Nor less another sight do I admire,
 The rural family round their hut of clay,
 Some spread the table, and some light the fire
 Beneath the household Rock,¹ in open day;
 The ass's colt with panniers some attire;
 Some tend the bristly hogs with fondling play;
 This with delighted heart the Old Man sees,
 Sits out of doors, and suns himself at ease.

The outward image speaks the inner mind,
 Peace without hatred, which no care can fret;
 Entire contentment in their plough they find,
 Nor home return until the sun be set:
 No bolts they have, their houses are resign'd
 To Fortune—let her take what she can get.
 A hearty meal then crowns the happy day,
 And sound sleep follows on a bed of hay.

In that condition Envy is unknown,
 And Haughtiness was never there a guest.
 They only crave some meadow overgrown
 With herbage that is greener than the rest;
 The plough 's a sovereign treasure of their own;
 The glittering share, the gem they deem the best,
 A pair of panniers serves them for buffette;
 Trenchers and porringers for golden plate.

O Avarice blind, O mean and base desires
 Of those who pass the gifts of Nature by!
 For gold alone your wretched pride aspires,
 Restless for gold from land to land ye fly;
 And what shall quench your never-sated fires,
 Ye slaves of Envy, Sloth, and Luxury,
 Who think not, while ye plot another's wrong,
 "Man wants but little, nor that little long?"

They in old time who drank the streamlet clear,
 And fed upon the fruits which Nature sent,
 They should be your example, should appear
 Beacons on which your eyes should still be bent:

¹ "Masso," in the original poem, is a large stone, set up on the outside of a cottage door for the purpose of making a fire against it; a common practice in Italy.

O listen to my voice with willing ear !
 The peasant with his herds enjoys content,
 While he who rules the world, himself unblest,
 Still wants, and wishes, and is not at rest.

Wealth, sad at heart the while, and full of dread,
 Goes all adorn'd with gems and gay with gold ;
 And every cloud which passeth overhead
 As ominous of change doth she behold ;
 But Poverty her happy days hath led,
 Vex'd with no hope to have, nor fear to hold ;
 Amid the woods in homely weeds bedight
 She knows no cares, no quarrels, no alright.

Milk, herbs, and water, always at command,
 The peasant recks not of superfluous stores ;
 He counts his gains upon his callous hand,
 No other book is needed for his scores :
 Troubled with no accounts of ships or land,
 No usurer's guiles he suffers and deplores :
 He knows not in the world that such things be.
 Nor vainly strives with fortune, no, not he

If the cow calved, and if the yearling grew,
 Enough for all his wishes fortune yields :
 He honours God, and fears and loves him too ;
 His prayers are for his flocks and herds and fields ;
 The doubt, the how, the why, that fearful crew,—
 Disturb not him, whom his low station shields,
 And favoured for his simple truth by Heaven,
 The little that he humbly asks, is given.

Of the sonnets, religion and love are the prevailing subjects. In the former Michel Angelo is sometimes very successful; in the latter he is either monotonous or quaint; a jargon of Platonism and crude metaphysical divinity, acquired from the prevailing taste of the times, with little mind and no sensibility, supply the place of real feeling. He who only imagines that he loves is sure to be mistaken; and that which is worthless to himself, is still more cold and insipid to others.

From the facts I have stated, and the opinions founded

upon data which I believe to be true, it would be useless to multiply words in summing up the character of this great man. All short modes of defining complicated powers are fallacious, however dexterously language may be employed to give antithesis the force of wit or the air of profound sagacity. By studying his works alone Michel Angelo is thoroughly to be known. His genius was vast and wild, by turns extravagant and capricious, rarely to be implicitly followed, but always to be studied with advantage. Those who have hitherto taken him for their guide, seized what came within the sphere of gross representation, and caricature was the only result of their feeble efforts. Eccentricity, not borrowed from nature, nor the result of feeling, may for a time astonish vulgar minds; but that which is like nothing that can be seen or understood, will perish with the author, by whatever ingenious means it may be made to assail the public taste. Sprangher and Goltzius have been long dead; and wherever such artists may arise, they will now no longer serve to disgrace the genius of Michel Angelo, who has been but too often censured for their extravagance.

CATALOGUE
OF THE
PRINCIPAL WORKS OF MICHEL ANGELO,
IN SCULPTURE, PAINTING, DESIGN,
AND ARCHITECTURE.

Sculpture.

I. BACCHUS, in the Florence Gallery.—There is a cast of this statue in the house of the duke of Richmond, in Privy Gardens, brought into this country by that nobleman when he established his academy in London, in the year 1758. Mr. Wilton made a copy of it in marble for the duke of Northumberland, which is now at Sion House. It is larger than nature, and has the character and expression of youth under the influence of wine.

II. LA PIETA, in St. Peter's in Rome.—Of this subject there is an old print with this inscription, DOLOR MEVS SVPER DOLOREM IN ME COR, MEVM MOERENS. MICHEL ANG. B. *Pinxit Romæ*, and the engraver's monogram. It is more stiff and formal in its style of design, and was probably an earlier composition than the group in St. Peter's, and, agreeably to the inscription, might have been originally executed in painting; as it is the only print I have ever seen, where the name of Michel Angelo is put as the painter, except to the compositions in this work, which are enumerated under that head.

III. DAVID, in the Piazza del Grand Duca, in Florence.—The sum Michel Angelo received for this piece of sculpture was four hundred ducats. The block of marble was nine braccia long (16 feet, 6 inches,) and the statue is of the same height: on the top and at the base, the rude surface of the marble still remains.

IV. CHRIST, in the church of S. Maria Sopra Minerva, in Rome.—From the devotion paid to this statue, as representing the Saviour of the world, the marble of the feet was so worn that they are now protected by brass sandals.

V. THE MONUMENT OF DUKE GIULIANO DE' MEDICI, in the new sacristy of the church of S. Lorenzo, in Florence.

VI. THE MONUMENT OF DUKE LORENZO DE' MEDICI, in the new sacristy of the church of S. Lorenzo, in Florence.—When these monuments were first exposed to public view, they were universally admired; and the epigram of Giovanni Strozzi on the figure of Night in that of the duke Giuliano de' Medici, is preserved in the collection of Michel Angelo's poems, with his reply.

La notte che tu vedi in sì dolci atti
 Dormir, fu da un Angelo scolpita.
 In questo sasso, e perche dorme, ha vita:
 Destala se nol credi, e parleratti.

"Night, whom you see so sweetly sleeping in this stone, was by an angel carved, and though sleeping, lives: if you believe me not, awake her with a sudden shake, and she will speak."

To this, Michel Angelo wrote the following reply:

Grato m'èl sonno, e più l'esser di sasso,
 Mentre che' danno, e la vergogna dura:
 Non veder, non sentir m'è gran ventura,
 Però non mi destar, deh parla basso.

"It were well to sleep, but better to be a stone, while shame is shameless, and while crimes bear sway; not to be sensible is my good fortune, therefore rouse me not, but speak low."

VII. LA MADONNA, in the new sacristy of the church of S. Lorenzo, in Florence.—This piece of sculpture is placed between two statues of St. Cosimo and Damiano, by Angelo Montorsoli and Raffaello di Montelupo, in the same sacristy, occupying one side. Of this piece of sculpture, Condivi, in praise of it, says, it is better to be silent than to say little.

VIII. IX. X. RELIGION. MOSES. VIRTUE.—These three statues make a part of the monument of Julius II., in the church of S. Pietro in Vincolo. The emblematical figure of Religion, in the act of adoration. Vasari calls Rachel; and the other, with a mirror, emblematical of Virtue and Prudence, he calls, by the name of her sister, Leah.

XI. XII. XIII. SLAVES.—These three figures, representing slaves, were intended to have surrounded the base of the mausoleum of Julius II., as caryatides, agreeably to the original design.

Two of them, now in France, were given by Michel Angelo to Robert Strozzi, and by him to Francis I., who afterwards gave them to the constable Montmorency. In the reign of Louis XIII. cardinal Richelieu made himself master of them, and placed them in his château; afterwards they descended to the marshal Richelieu, who removed them to Paris, and placed them in his garden. Upon his death, the widow removed them to a house she inhabited in the Fauxbourg de Roule; when she left that residence, they were neglected, and put into the stables with other pieces of sculpture, and in the year 1793, on being put up to sale by brokers, M. Lenoir, the founder of the Musée des Monumens Français, interfered in behalf of the nation, and through his means they remain in that repository.

The third figure, is one of four that support the roof of a grotto in the Boboli Gardens in Florence, and, though in a rude state, the others are still more imperfect. The figure of the prophet Jeremiah, in the ceiling of the Sistine chapel, is supposed to have been originally designed for this monument; and I have seen a model of it

in *terra-cotta*, said to be by Michel Angelo. In the Palazzo Vecchio, in Florence, there is a group of two figures in marble unfinished, to which Vasari gives the name, "La Vittoria." The composition is in a very bad style, and for what purpose it was designed I am ignorant; but by some it was supposed to have been intended also to form a part of this monument.

CHRIST TAKEN DOWN FROM THE CROSS, in the cathedral in Florence.—This group was the last work of Michel Angelo, and left unfinished at his death. It was afterwards brought from Rome, and in the year 1723 placed where it now is, at the back of the high altar in the cathedral, by Cosmo III., grand duke of Tuscany; and with his permission the following inscription was placed under it, by the senator Buonarroti:—

Postremum Michaelis Angeli Bonarotæ opus
 Quamvis ab artifice ob vitium marmoris neglectum,
 Eximium tamen artis canona
 Cosmus III. Mag. Dux Etruriæ
 Roma jam advectum hic p. l. anno
 CIO, IOCC, XXII.

Previous to the commencement of this group, Michel Angelo had employed much time on another, upon a larger scale, which he spoiled and laid aside; for this he was afterwards offered 200 golden crowns (100*l.* sterling) in its mutilated and imperfect state, by Francesco Bandini, who was desirous to have it finished by a sculptor of the name of Tiberio Calcagni: this offer Michel Angelo generously refused, and made him a present of it, with the model, that it might be finished agreeably to the original design, but the death of Bandini prevented the completion of the work.—*Vasari*, tom. iii., p. 283.

The authors of the "*Trattato della Pittura*, &c. da un Theologo e da un Pittore," p. 210, mention two groups of this subject: one of them was found buried in an apartment under ground, and about the year 1650 publicly seen in a shop in Rome; the other stood in cardinal Bandini's garden on Monte Cavallo. This latter was probably the same I have just mentioned. From these two unfi-

nished works Taddeo Zuccherò made drawings, and introduced them into two pictures which he painted in Rome, for the church of the Madonna de' Monte, and the Pietà del Consolato de' Fiorentini.

In the Florence gallery there is a rude block of marble, by Michel Angelo, intended to be a bust of Brutus, and is more remarkable for this distich by cardinal Bembo, than for any merit of its own—

Dum bruti effigiem ducit de Marmore sculptor,
In mentem sceleris venit, et abstinuit.

Michel Angelo attempted to restore the arm of the Laocoon; but not feeling himself competent to the undertaking, left it unfinished. This fragment is also in the Florence gallery.

Of this celebrated group Baccio Bandinelli made a copy in marble of the same size, and flattered himself that he surpassed the original; but he was alone in that opinion. Titian caricatured it, by drawing three monkeys in the same action. And when Michel Angelo was asked what he thought of it, he replied, "He who follows must be behind; and he, who of himself does not know how to do well, cannot avail himself, to any effect, of the abilities of others." *Vasari*, tom. iii. p. 318. This observation only applies to his talents as a sculptor; for his best designs rank him, for composition, with the first artists Italy has produced: yet, as a man, he was so generally disliked, that when he heard himself ill spoken of, he used to reply, "It is no matter, we are only quit, for I never speak well of any one."

During the time Michel Angelo was employed by Leo X. to procure marble in the quarries of Carrara for the façade of S. Lorenzo, he raised a large block to make a group of Hercules destroying Cacus, intending to place it in the Piazza with his statue of David; and at his leisure, during this pontificate, he made many designs and different models of that subject: but, on the death of Leo, Clement VII. employed him about works of sculpture and architecture, to honour the Medici family; and Baccio Bandinelli obtained the marble to execute a similar composition.

After he had begun to work upon it, the revolution of 1527 obliged him to leave Florence, and the government commissioned Michel Angelo to finish it: upon which he made a new design of Samson destroying two Philistines, adapted to the then state of the marble. The siege of Florence, however, prevented his proceeding further than making the model; and Bandinelli, by order of the pope, completed, after the termination of the war, the sculpture from his own design.—*Vita di Baccio Bandinelli*, tom. ii. p. 585. Of this group of three figures there is a plaster cast, probably from the original model, as I have seen an old print of the same composition subscribed with Michel Angelo's name.

Painting.

I. HOLY FAMILY.—This picture is preserved in the Florence gallery, and is the only easel-picture remaining by Michel Angelo that can be authenticated. It has never been engraved.

II.—JUPITER and LEDA.—This picture was painted (*a tempera*) about the year 1529, and given to Antonio Mini, who was an assistant to Michel Angelo, with two cases of models, and many very valuable cartoons and designs, all of which he took into France after the siege of Florence in the year 1530. He sold the picture to Francis I. for three hundred golden crowns, (150*l.* sterling), *Armenini*, lib. iii. p. 216. It was placed in the palace of Fontainebleau, but it is now not to be found in France, and is supposed to have been destroyed. In the year 1584, the cartoon was preserved in the villa of Bernardo Vecchietti, near Florence. *IL Riposo di Borgini*.

Of this composition there are many prints. The best I have seen has the following inscription, but without any date or engraver's name: "Michael Angelus inventor."

"Formosa hæc Læda est: cignus fit Jupiter: illam
Comprimat: hoc geminum (quis credat) parturit ovum,
Ex illo gemini Pollux, cum Castore fratres
Ex isto erumpens Helene pulcherrima prodit."

III. THE CEILING OF THE SISTINE CHAPEL.—The ceiling is 171 palms 8 inches long, and 59 palms 5 inches wide, which in English numbers would be 125 feet 9 inches, by 43 feet 6 inches.

In the year 1798, from an accidental explosion of gunpowder in the castle of St. Angelo, the concussion was so great as to shake down some of the plaster from the ceiling, and a figure seated on a pedestal was destroyed, except the head and feet.

Whether any fragments of the original cartoons for this stupendous work remain, I have not learnt; but it is probable that some may yet be found in Italy, as they were highly valued, and taken great care of by those who cultivated a taste for the fine arts in the sixteenth century, and we are informed, both by Vasari and Borghini, that the celebrated Bernardo Vecchiette was in possession of some pieces, comprehending academic figures and prophets.

The original sum Michel Angelo was to have had for painting the whole chapel was fifteen thousand ducats, but for the ceiling he only received three thousand.

IV. THE LAST JUDGMENT.—From this picture there are numerous prints. In my own collection I have eleven different engravings of it, but amongst the most important are one by Gio. Mantuano on ten plates, and a small print by Martin Rota. Parts of the picture have been engraved by Domenico Fiorentino, and these prints have more breadth of manner, and are more in the style of the original, than those of any other engraver.

The height of the picture is 74 palms 6 inches, and the width 59 palms 6 inches. In English measure, 54 feet 6 inches, by 43 feet 6 inches, and occupies the whole of the wall at the end of the chapel over the altar.

Gori says, that the original drawing of the Last Judgment was preserved in a cabinet in the gallery of the grand duke of Tuscany.—*Annotazzioni alla vita di Michel Angelo Buonarroto da Condivi*, p. 116, sec. liii.

V. THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL.—The only print I have seen from this picture was published by Antonio Salamanca, and, from the monogram, appears to have been

engraved by Nicolo Beatrici. It has this inscription upon it: MICH. ANG. PINXIT IN VATICANO. EX. TYPIS ANT. SALAMANCAE.

VI. CRUCIFIXION OF ST. PETER.—The best engraving from this picture is by Giovanni Batista de' Cavaliere. It is rather larger than the print of the Conversion of St. Paul.

Bottari says, there were some studies for this picture by Michel Angelo, finished with great care, in the Farnese palace, but removed from thence to Naples in the year 1759, by order of the king.

These are all the pictures by Michel Angelo recorded by his contemporary biographers. In the house of his descendants in Florence, there is a Holy Family, which is preserved as an original picture; and in the Florence gallery there was a small picture of the Fêtes, said to be by Michel Angelo; but without better authority than tradition, or common report, its authenticity may be questioned.

Designs.

Authenticated by Vasari. Bottari's Edition, 4to, MDCCLX.

I. CARTOON OF THE BATTLE OF PISA.—Three figures of this cartoon were engraved by Marc Antonio, with a landscape back-ground, in the year 1510, which date is on the print. In the year 1524, Agostino Veneziano engraved five figures, with this inscription, A. V. MDXXIIII. *Michel Angelas Bonarotus Florentinus inventor.* This print has also a landscape back-ground, but not to correspond with the former, nor to Vasari's description; so that most probably these back-grounds were added by the engravers.

These two prints, and the small chiar'-oscuro picture at Holkham, is all that now remains of the celebrated composition of the Battle of Pisa. This group seems to have been the principal part of that cartoon, but the commencement of the action was represented by the fighting of

cavalry, probably introduced in the distance.—“Infiniti combattendo a cavallo cominciare la zuffa.” *Tom. ii. p. 722. tom. iii. p. 209.*

In the year 1584, when Borghini published his work entitled, *Il Riso de' pensieri e delle noje*, a piece of the original cartoon was preserved in the villa of Bernardo Vecchietti, near Florence.

II. CHRIST ON THE MOUNT.—This design was given to Cosmo III., grand duke of Tuscany, after the death of Michel Angelo, by his great nephew Leonardo Buonarroti. *Tom. iii. p. 311.*

There is no print of it.

Sir Joshua Reynolds had in his collection a drawing of the figure of Christ praying, from this composition, which he supposed to be by Michel Angelo, and from it he borrowed the general action of the hands, for his profile portrait of Dr. Johnson.

III. ANNUNCIATION.—“Hail, thou art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women.” *St. Luke, ch. i. ver. 28.*

This composition was designed by Michel Angelo for the cardinal di Cesis, and painted by Marcello Venusti, for his chapel, called “La Cappella di marmo,” in the church of Santa Maria della Pace, in Rome. *Tom. iii. p. 311.*

This picture has been since removed, and in its stead there is one by Carlo Cesi, a scholar of Pietro da Cortona: where it is at present I have not learnt.

Five compositions made for Messer Tommaso de' Cavalieri

IV. ANNUNCIATION.—This design was painted by Marcello Venusti, and is now in the sacristy of the church of St. Giovanni in Laterano. *Tom. iii. p. 311, 454.* There is a very bad print from this picture, by J. Rossi, published in Rome, 1726. The same subject described by Dantè as a basso-relievo, in his “Purgatorio,” appears to have been the prototype of this composition.

There is a basso-relievo of this composition in marble,

in the church of Santa Maria, in Trastevere, in Rome, but the sculptor is not known.

V. FALL OF PHAETON.—This design was painted in oil colours by Checchino Salviati, and engraved on crystal by Valerio Vicentino: there are also several prints of this composition; the best I have seen has this inscription, MICH. ANG. FLOR. INV., without any engraver's name.—*Tom. ii. p. 401, et iii. p. 309.*

VI. RAPE OF GANYMEDE.—Giulio Clovio copied this composition in miniature for the grand duke of Tuscany, and the picture was preserved in the Pitti palace, in Florence. In the palace of his Britannic majesty, at Kensington, there was formerly a large oil picture of this subject, probably painted by some contemporary artist. There are also many prints of it, but one, executed much better than the rest, has this inscription, GANYMEDES JUVENIS TROJANUS RAPTUS A JOVE.—*Tom. iii. p. 309, 449.*

VII. TITYUS.—This design has been copied in a gem, and given by Spence in his *Polymetis*; there is a large basso-relievo of it in the Villa Borghese, in Rome. It has also been published with a landscape back-ground, by Antonio Salamanca, with this inscription, TITYUS GIGAS A VULTURE DIVERSISQUE POENIS LACERATUS.

To this subject I have given the name of Tityus, from its being repeatedly adopted by Vasari in both editions of his work, although that of Prometheus would seem to be more proper; since no circumstance is introduced to denote the character of a giant; but, on the contrary, the Vulture (which no mythological authority has made larger than the size of nature), reduces the figure even below the common standard of life.—*Tom. iii. p. 309.*

VIII. BACCANALIA DI PUTTI.—Of this composition I have two old prints; the best has this inscription, MICH. ANG.—*Bonaroti, inv. Ant. Lafrerii Formis Romæ, 1553.*

These three last designs are particularized by Vasari in his first edition of 1550, with the highest commendation.—*Part iii. p. 986.*

Messer Tommaso de' Cavalieri was a particular friend

of Michel Angelo, and possessed many of his sketches, studies, and drawings, of various kinds. After his death, his family sold the collection for five hundred crowns to the cardinal Farnese, as would appear from a marginal note in the Giunti edition of Vasari, preserved in the Corsini Library in Rome.

Three compositions made for the marchioness of Pescara.

IX. CHRIST, WITH THE WOMAN OF SAMARIA AT THE WELL.—“Whosoever drinketh of this water shall thirst again: but whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him, shall be in him a well of water, springing up into everlasting life.”—*St. John*, ch. vi. ver. 13, 14.

There is an old print from this design, with this inscription.—*A. Lef. Formis*, tom. iii. p. 315.

X. THE CRUCIFIXION.—“And at the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, ELOI, ELOI, LAMA SABACH-THANI?” *St. Mark*, ch. xv. ver. 34.

Of this composition there was a small picture in the Cavalieri palace in Rome, painted by Marcello Venusti. There is also an old print of it, but the only one I have has no inscription. *Tom.* iii. p. 314.

XI. CHRIST TAKEN DOWN FROM THE CROSS.—This subject has also been painted by Marcello Venusti: and there are several prints of it. One by Giulio Bonasoni, 1546. Another with a slight variation, dated 1547, with the monogram of Nicolo Beatrici. The peculiar cross in the back-ground represents one which was carried in Florence, in a religious procession, in the great plague of 1348, and afterwards deposited in the church of Santa Croce. In the original drawing, upon the shaft of the Cross, was printed, NON VE SI PENSA, QUANTO SANGUE COSTA.

There is another print of this subject, with the date 1579, with this inscription, TORCULAR CALCAVI SOLUS, from Isaiah, probably chosen by the engraver. It is a very inferior print to either of the others. *Tom.* iii. p. 314.

Designs painted by Sebastiano del Piombo and Jacopo da Puntormo.

XII. CHRIST SCOURGED.—This composition was made for Sebastiano del Piombo, and painted by him in the church of S. Pietro in Montorio, where it still remains in good preservation. *Tom. ii. p. 471.*

XIII. DEAD CHRIST.—This design was made by Michel Angelo for Sebastiano del Piombo, who painted it for an altar in a private chapel in the church of S. Francesco in Viterbo, where the picture now is. *Tom. ii. p. 470.*

Of this composition there is no print.

XIV. VENUS AND CUPID.—The cartoon of this picture was drawn by Michel Angelo in charcoal, and highly finished, for his friend Bartolommeo Bettini, to whom he presented it. It was painted in oil colours by Jacopo da Puntormo for the same person.

This picture was brought to England in the year 1734, and offered to sale for five hundred pounds, and, from the interest it excited, Hogarth satirized it in his *Analysis of Beauty*. There is a copy or duplicate of it in Kensington palace.

Michel Angelo made a design for the Marchese del Vasto, of Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen in the Garden, commonly called, *Noli me tangere*, which was also painted by Jacopo da Puntormo; and Michel Angelo, when he saw the picture, said, that nothing could be executed more to his satisfaction. *Tom. ii. p. 645 et 662.*

These are all the historical designs by Michel Angelo enumerated by Vasari or Condivi.

Designs by Michel Angelo, on the authority of old Prints or Pictures, engraved or painted by men contemporary with himself.

I. HOLY FAMILY.—There are three old prints of this subject, with a slight variation in each. In the Borghese palace, in Rome, is a small picture of this composition, painted by Marcello Venusti.



First. merged

II. ST. JEROM.—There is an old print of this design, which appears, from the following inscription on it, to have been engraved after a picture by Marcello Venusti, M. ANG. IN. MARCEL. PIN. *Seb. a Reg. do. incid. ROMÆ M.D. LVII. con privilegio.* It was published by Antonio Lafrerii Sequino, who, with Antonio Salamanca, published the greatest number of the prints engraved after Michel Angelo's works. There is an engraving of this subject, with a grand landscape back-ground, subscribed *Michael Angelus invin. Roma.* There is also another print, smaller than either of the preceding, in which the back-ground is varied, so that it is most probable the figure is the only part of the original design.

III. VIRGIN AND CHILD, from an original picture by Marcello Venusti, formerly in the collection of cardinal Albani, now in the possession of Richard Cosway, Esq. This small picture is most beautifully painted, and the subordinate parts executed with all the taste and elegance of the Flemish school. I have great satisfaction in pointing out this example of the abilities of Marcello Venusti, because, without the best works of a master be seen, no correct estimation can be formed of his merit, or of the state of the art in his time; and this is the more important, as the number of worthless pictures at all times in circulation under the auspices of distinguished names, have a constant tendency to produce incorrect and fallacious opinions.

Vasari has given a short account of this artist, though he was living when he published his work; and as I have had occasion frequently to mention his name, a translation of that account may not be uninteresting.

“Marcello Venusti was born at Mantua, 1515; he was a scholar of Perino del Vaga, and worked with him many years, and acquired a distinguished name. He has since painted the altar of the chapel of St. John the Evangelist, in the church of S. Spirito, with the portrait of the founder, who also built the walls of the church. The portrait is very like, and the altar-piece extremely beautiful. From the excellence of this work, a friar of the order “del Piombo”

commissioned him to paint in fresco, in S. Maria della Pace, over the door leading to the convent, Christ disputing with the Doctors, which is beautifully executed. He has now abandoned large works, being more delighted, as he always has been, to paint portraits and small pictures, of which he has done an infinite number, and among them some portraits of Paul III. exceedingly beautiful, and accurately like. He has also made an infinite number of small pictures from the designs of Michel Angelo; among others, the whole composition of the Last Judgment, from the original in the Sistine chapel, which is an extraordinary work, executed with the utmost skill. For truth of representation in small pictures, nothing can be desired better than Marcello's works: hence, that most accomplished gentleman, Messer Tommaso de' Cavalieri, with whom he was always a favourite, commissioned him to paint the Annunciation of the Virgin, for the church of San Giovanni in Laterano, from a design by Michel Angelo, of which he has made a fine picture. Leonardo Buonarroti, his nephew, afterwards gave the original design to Cosmo, duke of Florence, with some drawings of architecture and fortification, and other precious things. Of Marcello, it is enough to say, that since he has applied himself to small works, he has truly executed them with extreme and incredible patience."¹—*Vasari*, tom. iii. 454.

IV. JEREMIAH.—This was probably a sketch for the same subject Michel Angelo afterwards painted on the ceiling of the Sistine chapel. The oldest print of this composition is engraved by Niccolo Beatrice, 1547.

V. CHRIST HEALING THE SICK.—“When the sun was setting, all they that had any sick with divers diseases, brought them unto him; and he laid his hands on every one of them, and healed them.”—*St. Luke*, iv. 40.

This is probably one of the compositions intended for the Sistine chapel, if the original plan had been carried into execution, of ornamenting the side walls with pic-

¹ This account was published 1568, and Marcello Venusti died 1576. His life has been written by Ridolfi.

tures by Michel Angelo. There is an old print of this design, engraved by Ferando Berteli, 1566.

VI. HOLY FAMILY.—Of this design there is a print engraved by Philip Sericcus and published by Antonio Lafrerii, in Rome, 1565.

VII. CHRISTVS, SEMEL PRO PECCATIS NOSTRIS, MORTVVS EST.—This composition appears to have been intended for an altar. There is a scarce print of it published or engraved by Antonio Salamanca (*Ant. Sala. excudebat*) without a date. Salamanca was a considerable printseller in Italy (1540), and published, as I have before observed, many of the works engraved after Michel Angelo; but with connoisseurs it is not certain whether he himself ever engraved. At this period engraving, printing, and print-selling were often united in the same person; and it is difficult, by the Latin word succeeding the proper name, to know precisely what meaning was intended; but in this instance, the preter-imperfect tense being used would seem to imply a modest diffidence of his own abilities, which could alone with propriety refer to his talents; yet it is very probable, Salamanca may have kept a manufactory, similar to our great manufactories of engraving in London, and caused his name to be engraved in whatever manner was most agreeable to himself.

VIII. SHOOTING AT A TARGET.—Whether this composition was intended merely as a study for the action of shooting with the bow, or an allegorical subject, is not known. There is a print of it published by Antonio Lafrerii Sequino, most probably in Michel Angelo's lifetime; but I have been informed by Mr. Cosway, that there is extant an earlier print, engraved in wood, with the head of the Terminus representing Michel Angelo's own portrait; if this be not an addition of the engraver, it would seem to imply an intention in the design to allude to the enemies and calumniators of his fame; and it is well known that the subject of S. Sebastian has been more than once adopted by other painters to gratify a similar feeling. Raffaello painted this composition in his villa.

IX. AN OLD MAN IN A GO-CART.—Of this subject I have two different prints: one without any year of publication or engraver's name; the other, with the date 1538, engraved or printed by Antonio Salamanca, with this inscription at the bottom of the print, *TAMDIU DISCENDUM EST QUAMDIU VIVAS.—HIS PUERI SENES.*

Besides these compositions there is a print, called Michel Angelo's Dream, which is an allegorical subject, showing the evils of avarice and debauchery, as the consequence of inordinate attachment to wealth and unlawful love. Masques are introduced, as emblematical of hypocrisy, to complete the chain of evils; while the principal figure, reposing on a globe, is visited by an angel from Heaven, who may be supposed to be warning him to place his confidence and affections on another and a better world.

The only print I have seen of this subject has this inscription: *MICHAEL ANGELUS INVENT. Gio. Domenico de Rossi alla Pace.*

Michel Angelo's Ring.

The gem called Michel Angelo's Ring has given rise to much discussion, and the following extract from M. Raspe may serve to show the interest antiquaries have taken in the investigation.

“This beautiful engraving, known by the name of Michel Angelo's Seal, has furnished ample matter of discussion and controversy to the antiquaries of France. One might almost form a library of the books and pamphlets which have been published upon the beauty and signification of this celebrated gem. As M. Mariette, in his *Traité sur les Pierres gravées*; and Mr. De Murr, in his *Bibliothèque des beaux Arts*, have given a sufficiently accurate account of them, we shall not enter into any detail, unless to observe that Professor Rossmön of Erlang, and Mr. Thierheim in Saxony, have, not long since, augmented the number of learned commentators on this seal of Michel Angelo. The first of these literati published, in the *Literary Intelligence* of the University of Erlang for the year 1749, No. 32, a Memoir to prove, ‘that it represents the birth

and education of Alexander the Great, allegorised as the birth and education of Bacchus.' Mr. Thierheim, on the contrary, printed a German dissertation on the subject, at Goerliz and Leipzig, in which he pretends to prove, with a great profusion of wit, Greek, and Latin, that it represents 'the grand Panathænean festivals of Athens, and that the little fisherman in the exergue, fishing, is an allusion to the luxury of the Athenians; who, on account of their enormous expense and consumption of fish, had the nick-name of Fish-eaters.

"Most commentators agree, without any proof whatever, that it is the work of Pyrgoteles, a very celebrated engraver in the time of Alexander the Great. Unhappily for them, and for Mr. Thierheim in particular, Mr. De Murr, in his *Bibliothèque des beaux Arts*, has most justly observed, after some Italian antiquaries, that 'the little fisherman in the exergue, is a rebus, or a kind of speaking figure, expressing the name of Pietro Maria di Pescia, contemporary with Michel Angelo, a most celebrated and excellent Italian engraver.'

"The great number of figures, and the manner of composition might always have suggested very rational doubts of its antiquity. But such were the folly and blindness of the antiquaries, that no one hitherto has suspected it, and Mariette, in his *Traité des Pierres gravées*, vol. i. p. 322, though justly considering the little fisherman as a logograph, pretends to find in it the name of Allion, a celebrated engraver in the fairest days of antiquity. It is true that *Ἀλιεύς* signifies a fisherman; but with a better knowledge of the Greek language, M. Mariette might, and ought to have observed, that there is a great difference between *Ἀλιεύς* and *Ἀλλίων*; and a little attention to the manner and composition of the work in question would certainly have shown him that it is as far from the style of the ancients, as the age of Pietro Maria di Pescia is from that of Allion.

"I shall not in this place repeat what I have said upon this subject in a literary journal, printed at Berlin, under the title of *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, in which I gave an account of the memoir of Mr. Thierheim; and I finish

by doing justice to the spirit and delicate touch of Pietro Maria di Pescia, which is truly admirable."—*Raspe's Descriptive Catalogue of Tassie's Gems*, p. 274.

With M. Raspe I concur in the opinion, that this gem is the production of a modern artist. Upon what authority it is called Michel Angelo's ring, I am ignorant: M. Mariette says only, "It is more particularly known under the name of Michel Angelo's ring, the general persuasion being that it once belonged to that illustrious man." It is worthy of remark, that the two female figures on the right, are the same in the general design, as two in the composition of Judith and Holofernes, in the ceiling of the Sistine chapel, which would seem to show that they were borrowed from the gem, or the engraver adopted them from the picture; and this circumstance alone may have connected it with Michel Angelo's name.

Pliny records a story of the two rival painters, Apelles and Protogenes, who, on their absence from home, each left at the house of the other a specimen of his drawing, so decisive of superior skill as to make the artist's name unnecessary. A similar anecdote is told of Michel Angelo, who is said one day to have gone to the Farnesina to make Raffaello a visit, while he was painting the Galatæa, and not finding him there, he mounted a ladder, and on the wall at the top of the room drew a colossal head in charcoal, in a grand style of design, that Raffaello on his return might know who had been to visit him. From respect to the talents of Michel Angelo, or from some popular feeling founded on tradition, this rude sketch is still suffered to remain.

Architecture.

The names of those who were principally employed in building St. Peter's, from the foundation of the church to its completion, may be enumerated in the following order: From the 18th of April, 1506, when the first stone was laid, Bramante was sole architect until his death, A.D. 1514; Raffaello, until the year 1520; Antonio Sangallo, until 1546; Michel Angelo, until 1564; Vignola, until

1573; Giacomo della Porta and Domenico Fontana, until 1607; Fontana was succeeded by Carlo Maderni, his nephew, who died 1627, and his place was supplied by Bernini; and although many others might be enumerated of less note, yet Bernini may with propriety be considered as the last architect who terminated this great work.

Notwithstanding this catalogue of distinguished names, the present building of St. Peter's was chiefly the work of four architects: Michel Angelo, Giacomo della Porta, Domenico Fontana, and Carlo Maderni.

According to Serlio, Bramante had not completed his plan when he died, and Raffaello finished it; and the work was only advanced in parts around the old church, without any fixed design being absolutely determined upon. St. Gallo seems to have wanted money for every purpose but to make his complicated model, upon which he spent more than a thousand pounds, as I have already remarked; and the principal part of what he constructed appears to have been taken down, from Michel Angelo's letter to M. Bartolommeo, and his subsequent agreement with Paul III. When Michel Angelo engaged to prosecute the work as his successor, he adopted his own plan, and the interior of the present church is conformable to the general principles of his design. After his death, which happened in 1564, nothing of any importance was done in the lapse of twenty years, until the reign of Sixtus V.,¹ who caused the dome to be erected by the co-operative skill of Giacomo della Porta and Domenico Fontana, with a slight deviation from Michel Angelo's original model; and the lantern (which had its origin in that of S. Maria del Fiore, by Brunelleschi,) underwent some change from the designs of Vignola. After the death of this pope, the work again suffered another delay of fifteen years, until the reign of Paul V., which commenced 1605; and he employed Carlo Maderni, who changed the original plan of Michel Angelo, from a Greek to a Latin cross, and with the present façade terminated the design, 1612.² The interior of the church

¹ Sixtus V. was elected to the pontificate 1585, and died 1590.

² At the two angles of this façade Carlo Maderni designed two hexagonal bell-towers, in a very bad taste; after his death, Bernini was

appears to have been finished in the pontificate of Innocent X., from his portrait and his arms everywhere disfiguring the pillars in the principal nave, and from the inscription placed over the great entrance door.

To form some idea of the magnitude of this church, the following are the principal dimensions, which are compared with those of St. Paul's, in London, to make them more impressive; not that these buildings are similar to an architectural eye, but their general resemblance has established the grounds of a popular comparison:—

	St. Peter's.	St. Paul's.
Length of St. Peter's within the walls from east to west.....	606	500
Width of the entrance within the walls....	223	100
Length of the cross aisle or transept	450	223
Diameter of the dome, in the clear	139½	108
Height of the church within.....	146	110
Height from the pavement to the top of the lantern	412	330

employed by Urban VIII.* to succeed him. He made new designs, and constructed one of the towers at the south-east angle to the height of 177 palms (129 feet,) when much fear was apprehended for the safety of the building, in consequence of a crack that took place from the incumbent weight, and a council was held, to deliberate whether it would be prudent to proceed with the work. While this decision remained undetermined the pope died, and his successor, Innocent X.,† employed his favourite architect, Rainaldi, to determine the question; who, from consideration of the case, and from little respect to Bernini, ordered the work to be all taken down; he then made several new designs in a most barbarous style, but the death of the pope, and the election of Alexander VII.‡ dispossessed him of his influence. Bernini was then employed to build the colonnade which surrounds the piazza, and the bell-towers were altogether laid aside, and the façade was suffered to remain as it is at present, without any further attempt to restore them. What was erected, Fontana says, incurred an expense of a hundred thousand crowns (23,250*l.* sterling,) and cost about twelve thousand crowns to take it down.

§ The diameter of the dome of the ancient Pantheon, in Rome, is 104½ palms, or 144 English feet.

* Urban VIII. was elected 1623, and died 1644.

† Innocent X. was elected 1644, and died 1655.

‡ Alexander VII. was elected 1655, and died 1667.

	St. Peter's.
Height of the columns in front, including the base and capital	92
The shaft of the column	75½
Length of the portico within, in front of the church	232
Width of the portico	41
Length of the church from the outside of the portico to the west end, including the thickness of the walls	680*

For the expense incurred in erecting this superb building, and other particulars, I refer the reader to Carlo Fontana, whose work will be found highly interesting, though, I fear, his general estimates are too extravagant to be readily granted.²

PORTRAITS OF MICHEL ANGELO.

GIULIANO BUGIARDINI painted his portrait at the request of Ottaviano de' Medici, and Michel Angelo also sat to Jacopo del Conte, but what has become of these pictures is not known. The former was doubtless a very indifferent performance, for Bugiardini was an artist of mediocrity, and if the following anecdote be correct, it is probable the likeness was very inaccurate. After Michel Angelo sat two hours, Bugiardini requested him to look at it; upon which he burst into laughter, and asked him, what he could have been thinking of to place one eye in the temple? But the poor painter, after re-examining and comparing his picture with the original, not being able to see the defect, Michel Angelo facetiously told him, "That if his picture was correct, Nature must have made the mistake," and desired him to proceed.

* The measures of St. Peter's are taken from Fontana, p. 375; and the Roman palm is reduced to English feet, agreeably to the calculation given, page 21. The measures of St. Paul's are extracted from the "Parentalia," p. 204.

² The title of his book is, "Il tempio Vaticano e sua origine. Con gl' Edifizii più cospicui, antichi, e moderni, fatti dentro, e fuore di esso; descritto dal Cav. Carlo Fontana, ministro deputato del detto famoso Tempio, et Architetto." Fol. Roma, M.DC.XCIV.

In the small copy of the Last Judgment by Marcello Venusti, Michel Angelo's portrait is introduced in the left-hand corner of the picture, which is not painted in fresco, in the Sistine chapel.

The best authenticated portrait of Michel Angelo is a bust in bronze, preserved in the Capitol; which Vasari says, was executed by Daniello da Volterra. It was given to the senate of Rome by the celebrated Borioni, and by Clement XII. placed in the collection of sculpture, where it now is. This is the same bust Bartolozzi copied for the author's work from the Last Judgment, but by mistake it is there ascribed to a scholar of Michel Angelo, Bartolommeo Amanati. The marble bust in his monument is by Battista Lorenzi.

Lione Lioni Aretino, a sculptor and particular friend of Michel Angelo, made his portrait on a medallion, in the year 1562, when he was eighty-eight years of age; it was considered a strong likeness, and executed with great spirit. On the reverse of the medal was a blind man led by a dog, circumscribed with this legend, if written at length, "DOCEBO INIQUOS VIAS TUAS, ET IMPII AD TE CONVERTENTUR." The application of this legend is obscure. In the year 1760, Mariette wrote to Bottari to have his opinion upon it, which he was unable to give with any satisfaction to himself; but observes, that it might be a satire pointed at those who had the management of the building of St. Peter's at that time, of whom he had the meanest opinion.¹ With this medallion Michel Angelo was highly pleased, and gave Aretino in return several of his own designs, and a model in wax of Hercules strangling Antæus.

Gori had in his possession a portrait of Michel Angelo in an emerald paste, given to him by Sig. Luigi Syzies, who obtained it in Paris. He has engraved it at the head of the preface of his edition of *Condivi*, but has not given any data to establish its originality.

¹ Vide *Lettere Pittoriche*, tom. iv. p. 364.

The following portraits were engraved in Michel Angelo's lifetime.

A three-quarter face in an ornamental oval, by Giorgio Mantouano, under which are the following lines:

Michael Angelus Bonarota
Tuscorum flos delibatus,
Duarum artium pulcherrimarum
Humanae vitae vicariarum
Picturae statuariaeque
Suo penitus sæculo extinctarum
Alter inventor faciebat.

A three-quarter face, with a fur cap, in an ornamented oval, circumscribed, MICHAEL ANGELVS BONAROTVS PATRICIVS FLORENTINVS AN. AGENS LXXXI. On the ornament of this portrait are engraved the initials J. B.

A profile, in a circle, by Giulio Bonasoni, with this inscription:

Michael · Angelvs · Bonarotvs · patricivs.
Florentinvs · an · agens · LXXXI.
Quantvm in natura ars naturaꝓe possit in arte
Hic qvi natvræ par fvit arte docet.
M.D.XLVI.

A profile, in a square, without any engraver's name, with this inscription:

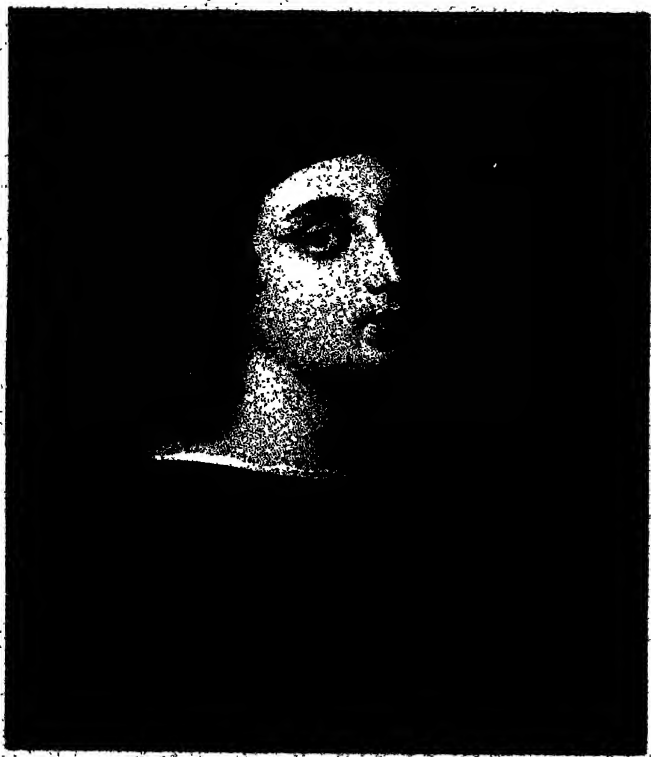
Michael · Angelvs · Bonarotvs · nobilis.
Florentinvs · an · aet · svæ · LXXXI.
Qvi · sim · nomen · habes · satꝓ · est · nam · cetera · cvi · non
Svnt · nota · avt · mentem · non · habet · avt · ocvlos.
M. D. XLV.

A profile, in a plain unornamented oval, circumscribed, MICHAEL ANGELUS BONAROTUS PATRICIUS FLORENTINUS SCULPTOR PICTOR ET ARCHITECTUS UNICUS; and under the oval, AN. AGENS LXXI. 1545.

Of these three last prints, the first is much the best; and, although the second has a prior date, it appears to

have been engraved from the same original; and the third is a very inferior copy of it.

The portrait facing the title-page of this work is from a profile prefixed to Gori's edition of *Condivi*; the original of which was a drawing in the Buonarroti collection in Florence, supposed to have been made by Giulio Bonasoni, and probably the same from which he himself engraved his print.



BARBARA L. NIX

WILLIAM L.

THE SANZIO

HISTORY
OF
THE LIFE AND WORKS
OF
RAFFAELLO.

BY
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(ACADEMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS ET BELLES LETTRES,) AND SECRETARY TO
THE ACADEMIE DES BEAUX ARTS.

Translated from the Third Paris Edition,

BY
WILLIAM HAZLITT. ESQ.

HISTORY

OF THE

LIFE AND WORKS OF RAFFAELLO.

It was the small town of Urbino, in the Papal States, which, on the 28th March, 1483, gave birth to Raffaello Sanzio.¹ The patronymic was originally De' Santi, or Sancti, but custom had italianized it into Sanzio.

The family was of ancient date at Urbino, where it had maintained itself with honour in a moderate condition of fortune. It had a genealogy set forth in Latin on a scroll of paper, that Antonio de' Santi, son of Giulio, the head of the family, held in his hand, in a portrait of him formerly in the possession of cardinal Giovanni Francesco Albani, who became pope under the name of Clement XI.

This genealogy, for a copy of which we are indebted to Bellori, contains the names of a succession of Urbinese citizens, well known in their native town, where they had exercised various professions, and had served the state in various employments.² Among them we remark several

¹ Upon the house where he was born there is an inscription, to mark with honourable distinction the place of his birth; it terminates with these lines:—

“Ludit in humanis divina sapientia rebus
Et sæpe in parvis claudere magna solet.”

² The genealogy runs thus:—“Giulio de' Sancti, cousin to Tiberio Bacco, a Roman citizen of great eloquence, was the first of the family De' Sancti, still honourably known at Urbino, who assumed this cognomen. From him descended Antonio de' Sancti, who is painted here. He gave birth to Giovanni Giacompo, a learned canon; to Giovan-Bat-

painters, Raffaello being the fifth of the family who practised the art. The profession, however, was all he inherited from them; for none had his genius or his reputation.

Not that Giovanni Sanzio, his father, was destitute of ability. More than one production of his pencil demands from the impartial critic the acknowledgment that, notwithstanding a feebleness of colouring, and a timidity of style inseparable from that early stage of the revival of art, they manifest unequivocal indications of a progress full of promise for the future. The researches which have been made in Italy for worthy productions of art, anterior to Raffaello, have placed several works by his father in an honourable position on the interesting list.¹ One rare merit he possessed—that of not imagining himself greater than he really was, and of comprehending that his own talent would be wholly surpassed by his son's. It is to this noble modesty, perhaps, that we, in a great measure, owe Raffaello.

While yet an infant, Giovanni Sanzio bestowed upon him all the earnest attention which an only and long-desired son can receive from a tender father. He knew that if the habits of men take their origin from the earliest moments of their existence, the education which is to guide them should also commence with their infancy; that it is in infancy they should hear from their mother those first lessons which derive their virtue from the domestic affec-

tista, a brave officer of infantry: so Galeazzo, a noted painter; to Sebastian, and to a daughter. Galeazzo begot Giulio, a celebrated painter, and compiler of this genealogy; Antonio and Vincenzo, both painters, and other sons and daughters. Of Sebastian were born Girolamo and Giovan-Battista. Of Giulio, Galeazzo, Curzio, Annibale, and other sons and daughters. Of Antonio, Claudio, and several daughters. Of Giovan-Battista, son of Sebastian, Giovanni, father of Raffaello." Belori adds:—"Antonio is painted in a half-length, wearing a dark habit of antique fashion, lined with fur, and with a cap on his head. On the table near him is a book, inscribed *Appiano Alessandrino*, indicating his profession of historian and man of letters."

¹ Among them we have noticed a St. Elizabeth with the Virgin on a throne; a Visitation of St. Elizabeth, in the church of the *Minori Osservanti*; the Virgin on a throne, with Infant Jesus and Infant St. John, at Berlin, &c. Baldinucci names five historical works of Giovanni Sanzio as still remaining in Urbino.

tions. With the maternal milk Raffaello seems to have imbibed the taste for painting. His first playthings were the implements of his father's art; and the latter delighted on all occasions to encourage tendencies which seemed the presage of an extraordinary vocation to the noble art he himself so loved.

Ere many years had elapsed, he saw that the child, whom, from the time it could walk, he had made the companion and assistant of his labours, was already too far advanced to remain his pupil, and his paternal love at once resolved to act upon the discovery. Desirous that his son should have for a master the most renowned painter of the day, Pietro Vanucci, called *Il Perugino*, he made a journey for this purpose to Perugia, where he acquired the friendship of this celebrated man, and, as a marked proof of this friendship, his promise to receive Raffaello into the number of his pupils, of whom posterity has preserved the names of more than one still renowned artist, and among them that of Bernardino Pinturichio.

If, in the outset, Perugino, astonished at the precocious talent manifested by Raffaello in drawing, charmed with the amiable temper, the deportment, and the grace of his pupil, prognosticated that he would soon become his master, the young man, on his part, imitated Perugino as assiduously as though he were never to be other than his disciple. The copies of the one are not distinguishable from the originals of the other; when the pupil worked on the same canvas with the master, the result seems the product of one hand.!

An elaborate investigation into this subject, which can only be made in Italy by an immediate comparison of the original productions of this period, while modifying this statement of Vasari's,² renders still more clear the wonderful precocity of Raffaello. It might easily be shown indeed, from such an examination, that the genius of Raffaello from the first had a great influence over the

Among the works assigned to the childhood of Raffaello is a *Madonna*, painted in fresco on the court-yard wall of his father's house.

² Vasari, *Vite de' Pittori*, iii. 161.

talent of Perugino, not so much as to execution as to refinement and grace of expression. It would thus seem that the pupil gave his master lessons of the highest importance, a circumstance reflecting equal honour upon both.

In considering the state of painting in the schools of this period, even in that of Perugino, we must admit that the art was as yet little advanced; but then its progress was in the right direction, the unsophisticated imitation of pure nature. Great poverty of invention, timidity in manual execution, a dryness, but at the same time a clearness of stroke; no great depth of tints, and imperfect management of colouring, but purity and freshness of tone; a gentle simplicity in the composition, little expression or decision of movement indeed, but a freedom and truthfulness of attitude; such were the characteristics of the contemporary schools of the Bellini at Venice, of Francia at Bologna, of Ghirlandaio at Florence, and of Pietro Vanucci at Perugia; characteristics which we find also, somewhat modified, in the productions of Raffaello, while under the eye of his master.

It is impossible to say what might have become of the arts of design among the moderns, destitute as they are of the habitual sight of the nude human form, the study of which was, to so great an extent, presented to her artists by the public institutions of Greece, had not the models of antiquity suddenly reappearing in Italy, fecundated, as with a vivifying ray, the germs of the new schools, and expedited their advancement.

It was towards the close of the fifteenth century that the Medici, and more especially Lorenzo the Magnificent, threw open in their palace, filled with remains of ancient art, a sort of academy for students, and the arts of design at once passed from infancy to maturity. Masaccio had already appeared, as the prelude to the revolution about to take place. Soon after him, Lionardo da Vinci and Michel Angelo having broken through the trammels of a timid routine, gave an enormous impulse, though by different paths, to the science of design; and next, the chance which occasioned him to leave the school of Perugino,

emancipated Raffaello. Business calling the master to Florence, the pupil availed himself of the opportunity to make various excursions in the environs of Perugia.

It was then that Raffaello tried his own wings, essayed his own strength in several works which, still impressed with the character of the schools of that period, are already distinguishable from them by the circumstance that although we see not in these productions Raffaello himself as we now know him, we yet lose sight, to a certain extent, of him who had been his instructor.¹

It appears, notwithstanding the theory of Vasari with reference to the earlier paintings of Raffaello, that it was at Citta di Castello he first produced works which we may without hesitation assign to him as their sole author. Lanzi² relates, as an unvarying tradition, collected by him personally in this town, that here, at the age of seventeen, Raffaello executed the picture of *S. Nicola da Tolentino a Gli Eremitani*, which Vasari merely refers to with the observation that but for the name of Raffaello appearing on the canvas, it would be taken for the work of Perugino. And, as the judicious Lanzi remarks, so it might, in point of style, but the composition is already far in advance of the ordinary manner of the time. Perugino would have placed the Holy Virgin on a throne, with the saints standing stiffly around. Raffaello has represented St. Nicholas, crowned by the Virgin and St. Augustin, borne on a cloud; the upper part of the picture is occupied by a glory, wherein the Eternal Father appears in all his majesty, surrounded by a choir of angels; two of these, apart from the throng, hold in their hands legends setting forth the praises of the holy hermit.³

¹ Raffaello remained with Perugino three years. Both by letter and in conversation, the noble minded master, far from envying the superior success of his pupil, expressed the most sincere gratitude to Giovanni Sanzio for having conferred upon his school so great an honour as to give him a pupil of such distinguished merit; and on the return of Raffaello to Perugia, after his visit to Florence, Pietro was the first to admire his works and proclaim his improvement.

² Storia Pittorica, iii. 44.

³ This picture, purchased by Pius VI., is now in the Vatican.

Of the same epoch, and in the same town, is the picture which Raffaello painted for the church of St. Dominic. This is a Crucifixion: above the cross are two angels, one of whom is receiving in a chalice the blood flowing from the right hand; the other has two chalices, the first to collect the blood from the left hand, the second that which flows from the wound inflicted by the lance. The Holy Virgin, St. John, Mary Magdalen, and another saint, are present at the mystic spectacle of the Saviour's agony; the Eternal Father crowns the summit of the picture.¹ All the other figures might pass as masterpieces from the hand of Perugino: the Virgin, alone, beautiful beyond the utmost efforts of this painter, cannot for a moment be assigned to any other than Raffaello, who, indeed, only excelled it in the latest productions of his pencil.

Raphael wrote both his name and his age, seventeen, in a Holy Family, which Morcelli² relates to have seen at Fermo, in the house of a gentleman of that place. The Virgin is raising with both her hands the slight veil extended over the cradle of the sleeping child. St. Joseph is standing by, and along the staff on which he leans we read the following inscription: R. S. V. A. A. XVII. P. (*Raphael Sanctius Urbinensis anno ætatis xvii. pinxit*) This is the first idea of a composition which he afterwards repeated, with this difference in the attitude of the infant, that, instead of being asleep, it has just awakened, and is stretching out its arms to its mother.

Raffaello, previously to these works, had already painted at Perugia an Assumption of the Virgin for Maddalena degli Oddi. Vasari, in mentioning it, says that it might be taken for a *chef d'œuvre* of Perugino. This is not saying enough; we observe in the production a merit which that master cannot lay claim to: the merit of giving adequate expression to the various sentiments of the apostles on finding the tomb vacant. Perugino had not the art to make the eyes give utterance to the feelings and affections

¹ This picture, after having been for a long time in the Louvre, was transferred to Rome, and purchased by cardinal Fesch.

² *De Stylo Inscript. Latin*, p. 476.

of the soul, an art which, on the contrary, is manifested in the very earliest attempts of Raffaello.¹

Time having but confirmed more and more strongly the renown of Raffaello, his admirers have of late years vied with each other in their zeal to discover, verify, and make public the first essays of a genius which, in its earliest foreshadowings, distinctly announced what it was one day to become. The splendour of his later productions indeed, necessarily, for a long time, involved in neglect the earlier steps by which he attained the summit of his glory; and it was not until within the last half century that the most exact researches in various directions have drawn from their previous obscurity numerous productions of his first period.²

It were a difficult task fully to satisfy the curiosity of the reader as to the degree of authenticity due to the

¹ This Assumption must not be confounded with the same subject mentioned further on, which Raffaello, in 1516, undertook to execute for the convent of Monteluca, at Perugia, and which was painted, after his death, by the joint labour of Francesco Penni and Giulio Romano.

² At Perugia, in the apartments of the superior of the Camaldulites, a small Crucifixion in fresco. In the sacristy of St. Peter, in the Benedictine monastery, two children in fresco, after Perugino. The same convent possessed two other small productions of the youth of Raffaello, which were carried off by the French. At the Penna palace, a charmingly designed and most graceful picture, a small circle, representing the Madonna and Infant Jesus, in Perugino's manner. In the residence of the Connestabili family, also, at Perugia, the Virgin, holding in her lap the Infant Jesus, who is playing with an open book. There was for a long time preserved, though now lost, a letter authenticating the picture. We have a print of this work, executed in 1821. At Rome, M. Camuccini possesses a dyptich, painted by Raffaello. It consisted originally of three compartments; but the Virgin, who occupied the centre, has disappeared; upon the two squares which remain, are, on the one side, St. Catherine, and on the other, Mary Magdalen. M. Camuccini also possesses, by Raffaello, a Virgin with the Infant Christ receiving a flower from his mother: the painting is on wood. A picture, recently in the possession of the celebrated engraver, Longhi, at Milan, a half-length St. Sebastian, is considered a production of Raffaello's first manner, though very closely bordering upon the second. The features of the saint are said to bear a marked resemblance to those of the portrait of himself, which Raffaello has introduced into the School of Athens. We also find mentioned, as forming part of the same engraver's gallery, a very small picture by Raffaello, on wood, representing the Annunciation. Mary is seated, the angel kneeling before her.

various productions assigned to the first manner of *Raffaello*. A critical investigation of this nature, it may readily be imagined, is, more particularly out of Italy, the source of infinite doubt and uncertainty; the solution, after all, seems to us of very slight importance, either to the honour of the artist, or to the character for fidelity of his historian. Doubtless, history, which collects with interest the least circumstances of the infancy and youth of celebrated men, in order to trace there prognostics of the qualities which rendered them illustrious, could not have omitted to point out here the manner in which the prince of modern painters preluded, in his earliest essays, the great works which secured him the supremacy he has enjoyed for the last three centuries. Yet, bearing in mind that a history, properly considered, the history of an artist's genius, derived from the critical examination of his works as a whole, should be a different thing from a mere inventory or catalogue, we shall be pardoned for omitting here the review of many of his first productions, respecting which doubts may still exist.

It is embarrassing enough for the historian of art, when, instead of facts to relate, he has only works to describe, and this without being able to convey to the reader those delicate resemblances and distinctions which the eye alone can appreciate. The history of *Raffaello*, indeed, could alone be done thorough justice to in the sight and presence of his works, but this obviously may not be. The dispersion of his productions which prevents it, places the writer, moreover, under this double disadvantage, that he himself can scarcely form a proper comparison among them, or draw the necessary results, and that he is compelled to appeal entirely to the memory of his reader.

The art of engraving, however, of which, as we shall see, *Raffaello* was the first promoter in Italy, has rendered him and us the service of so reproducing and multiplying his productions, more especially within the last half century, that only a few of his earlier productions have, of all his works, escaped the zealous researches of the engraver.

It is by means of these engravings that we shall be

able, following as nearly as possible the chronological order of his productions, to enumerate and describe them, so as to fix their management and composition upon the attention of our readers, who may all, to a greater or less extent, be presumed acquainted either with the originals, or with these copies.

Apply this to one of the first compositions long attributed to Raffaello, and which late researches have incontestably shown to be the sole production of his pencil. It represents the Marriage of the Virgin, and was painted for the church of Saint Francis at Citta di Castello.¹ We must refer its date to a period subsequent to 1501, before which year the works already mentioned had been completed.

This production, which the burin of Longhi has made known, for some years past, to all Europe, was after a picture by Perugino, but far excelled its prototype in composition and arrangement. The original was painted for the altar of St. Joseph, in the cathedral of Perugia, in 1495; but, carried away in the last revolution which devastated Italy, has never since been heard of. Those, however, who had the good fortune to see both the original and the copy of it by Raffaello, were of opinion that in the latter there was to be admired, besides the features wherein the pupil did homage to the master, a superiority in the execution, in the manner of painting, which left Perugino very far behind. Another feature was at the time highly extolled by Vasari: the back-ground representing the circular temple with columns, which serves as a perspective to the whole scene. The style is so pure, the outline and the details combine in so remarkable a manner justness of proportions with finish of execution, that the biographer here referred to breaks out into an exclamation of delight at the talent which could so readily overcome all difficulties: "*Cosa mirabile a vedere le difficoltà che andava cercando.*"²

¹ This picture is painted on very fine canvas glued to panel. The architecture of the temple, and the whole pavement, are executed *à griffito*, in a sort of fresco.

² Vasari, iii. 162.

The chronological order to which the history of Raffaele compels us, as a general rule, to subject his works, cannot, however, be ascertained or adhered to in all cases with that precision which in other classes of narrative determines the regular succession of times, facts, and persons. It is well understood, in matters of art, that there are works which, once begun, have been laid aside and resumed at different periods, the account of which, however, precedes in the artist's biography the less important productions which he may have executed in the intervals of his greater labours.

It is in this way we must take, in reference to dates, the frescoes which Raffaello painted in concurrence with Pinturichio, during the three first years of the sixteenth century.

Pinturichio had also attended the school of Perugino, where he had known Raffaello, and learned to appreciate his nascent talent. After working for some time, while yet quite a young man, at Rome, where he had obtained the esteem and favour of cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, nephew of pope Pius II., he was intrusted by his eminence with the execution of the fresco paintings in the library, now the sacristy of the cathedral of Siena. This library had been constructed by Pius II. (*Æneas Silvius Piccolomini*), and the cardinal desired to render it an historical monument perpetuating the memory of his uncle's great actions.

For this purpose he directed Pinturichio to represent, in ten large compartments, the principal events of his uncle's career, his embassies to different courts, his negotiations, his elevation to the pontificate, the more memorable circumstances of his papacy, his death, and the transference of his remains from Ancona to Rome.

Painting, up to this period, when it had ventured at all upon great historical subjects, had shrunk them to the measure of its own capacity. The artist collected, without any attempt at composition or arrangement, a number of figures, for the most part appearing wholly unconnected with each other, and standing all of a row. Pinturichio would seem to have been the first who in

this great class of subjects threw off the yoke of the methodical and timid routine of the period. Yet, notwithstanding this merit, and the excellence of several of his works, especially the production which still excites admiration as the altar-piece of the cathedral at Spello, Vasari has not hesitated to say, that Pinturichio was far more highly thought of in his time than his paintings merited.

However this may be, posterity must ever think gratefully of him for having associated Raffaello with himself in an undertaking which required equal wealth of invention and facility of execution. Nor was it as a subordinate agent that he selected Raffaello, nor in the capacity of an artist whose mechanical experience can be made use of in the filling up this or that portion of a design. Vasari gives us clearly to understand that Raffaello was the principal personage in the affair. It was Raffaello, he tells us,¹ who made the sketches and prepared the cartoons of all the subjects. Elsewhere,² indeed, he merely speaks of *some* of the designs and cartoons, but the unvarying tradition at Siena fully bears out the first statement.

Whichever opinion be adopted, whatever the share assigned to Raffaello in this great work, there is and can be but one opinion on a far more important point; that these compositions of the Library at Siena exhibit an entire novelty in style and invention, and manifest the influence of a genius perfectly new to the world. This genius, it can as little be doubted, was that of Raffaello. And in what manner could he render his co-operation more sensibly felt than by the sketches, the designs, &c., more especially the cartoons, which are for fresco paintings what the models of the sculptor are for statues. But it would seem that in the actual execution of these frescoes he had a far more important and personal share than Vasari gives us to understand.

There is no doubt, in fact, that some portions of them were wholly and entirely his work. Besides other testimony of this, we read in the eulogy of Pietro Perugino, by

¹ Vasari, ii. 406

² *Ibid.* .

Orsini, that: "Raffaello is generally admitted to have himself painted the story nearest to the window as you enter on the right hand, wherein he is supposed to have drawn his own portrait in the person of the handsome young man on horseback."¹ The cartoon of this composition is still preserved at Florence, in the collection of Raffaello's drawings. Though, in more than one respect, there is a vast distance between these productions and the paintings in the Vatican, yet they must be regarded as constituting a decided epoch in the history of painting. If we compare them with nearly all that had preceded them in modern art, we shall at once see that this art had now attained more richness of invention, more grandeur of distribution, more movement and variety of style than it had before known.

Raffaello appears to have left the frescoes of Siena and Pinturichio, before the completion of the work, which, as we gather from the will of cardinal Piccolomini, dated 30th April in this year, was to take place in the course of 1503.

It is at this epoch that Vasari places Raffaello's first visit to Florence; the supposition itself is likely enough, but the motive assigned is by no means equally probable. "It was," says Vasari, "the desire to see the celebrated cartoons, then so generally lauded, of Leonardo da Vinci and Michel Angelo." This is an error and an anachronism; Leonardo da Vinci could not have drawn his cartoon before 1503, and Michel Angelo had not completed his until long after 1504.² It is, however, tolerably clear that Raffaello visited Florence prior to the close of 1504; the date of the letter of introduction given him by the duchess of Urbino almost amounts to a proof of this.

This question of dates may appear of trivial importance in itself, though tending to throw light upon the earlier

¹ "A production," observes Comolli, "at once displaying the exquisite delicacy of his pencil, and those graces which are so peculiarly his own."

² Lanzi, proceeding upon the brief of pope Julius II., recalling Michel Angelo to Rome, is of opinion that the cartoon was completed in 1506; and Vasari tells us that it was finished at Florence between April and July of that year

years of Raffaello's painter-life; but it acquires importance from the difference of opinion which has agitated so many writers, as to whether, when, how, and to what extent Michel Angelo influenced the genius and the taste of Raffaello; a question which will recur more than once in the course of this history.

We shall place here, solely upon the evidence of its style and colouring, undoubtedly in Raffaello's first manner, a beautiful three-quarter figure in oil of St. Catherine of Alexandria, on wood, two feet three inches high by one foot nine inches, long preserved in the Aldobrandini palace at Rome, now in England.¹ The artist's own cartoon of this work, drawn in black crayons, is in the collection of drawings of the Musée Royal, at Paris.

The saint is represented standing erect, her left arm resting on the instrument of her torture; the other hand, by its position, accordant with the movement of the head, and the direction of her gaze towards a ray of celestial brightness streaming from above, expresses the inspired faith and devotedness of the victim.

The design, the composition, the drapery, the whole effect of this charming work, evidently belong to that pure simplicity of taste and of manner, the highest perfection and term of which are seen in the picture of the Virgin, *La Giardiniera*, with which we shall shortly become acquainted.

There is one thing clearly evidenced in the works which he executed at this period, both at Florence and at Perugia, whither he returned in 1505,¹—namely, that neither their manner nor their style give any indication of the influence said by some to have been produced upon him by the productions, and more especially by the celebrated cartoon of Michel Angelo, to which we shall shortly come. For the present, it is sufficient to state generally, that at this time Michel Angelo had painted nothing at all, and still less, works in oil, a method he practised very little at any period.

¹ In the National Gallery.

² The exquisite little pictures in the Vatican: the Circumcision, the Adoration of the Magi, and the Annunciation, are all probably of this period.

To reconcile Vasari's account with itself and with dates, we must suppose that Raffaello, having in 1503 left Pinturichio and the works at Siena, for the purpose of visiting Florence, remained in this city and in Perugia upwards of a year; that during this time he painted several of those minor works of which very imperfect ideas have come down to us; that, towards the close of 1504, he returned to his native city, where the duchess of Urbino, desirous of promoting the more serious studies he now proposed applying himself to, gave him the following letter of introduction to the gonfaloniere Soderini, dated 1st October, 1504:—

“Magnificent and most excellent lord,—He who presents this letter is Raffaello, a painter of Urbino, who, having a good genius in his art, is desirous to improve himself in Florence; and as I know his father, who is dear to me, to be a virtuous man, and his son a discreet and gentle youth, I have every reason to esteem him in the highest degree; and am desirous that his genius should be matured to perfection. I therefore most earnestly recommend him to your lordship, and, for my sake, intreat you to give him all the assistance in your power. Every attention and favour that your lordship may bestow upon him will be considered as to myself, and shall be most gratefully acknowledged.

“JOHANNA FELTRIA DI ROVERA.”

It was, then, towards the close of 1504, that Raffaello, now twenty-one years old, repaired a second time to Florence, with the intention of settling there, or at least of remaining long enough to pursue a new course of study, and to benefit by the lessons and models which that illustrious city would afford him.

Among these new objects of study, we must doubtless reckon some of the fine remains of antiquity then exhibited in the Medici palace. The antique is to the artist a second nature, or rather it is, as it were, a mirror wherein the artist sees nature distinctly, and in its grandest aspect. Far from presenting an obstacle to any one, it on the contrary facilitates to all the means of catching and converting to their own use, in the noble model before them,

the qualities variously correspondent to their own peculiar tendencies, tastes, and capacities. There Michel Angelo derived from the study of the antique the qualities of learning, grandeur, and force. Raffaello saw in it and adopted from it the tender beauty, the purity, the unassuming nobleness, the simple grace, for which the character of his own mind and the direction of his earliest efforts had inspired him with the feeling and the taste.

The master, however, most in vogue at this period at Florence, and throughout Italy, was Leonardo da Vinci, who had just put the confirming seal upon his reputation by the cartoon of his Equestrian Combat, a group destined to decorate one of the apartments in the Palazzo Vecchio. It would seem, had Raffaello contemplated placing himself in the train of any master, that of all those then in credit (Fra Bartolomeo had not yet attained the height of his reputation,) Leonardo da Vinci would have had the preference, as being, from the grace, the purity, the inspiration of his expression, and the refined delicacy of his execution, the painter whose powers and whose tastes most nearly sympathized with his own. There is no mention anywhere of an intimacy between them at Florence; but it is certain that they were both resident there at the same time.

Florence had a peculiar charm for Raffaello. It was not long ere he contracted warm friendships with his young brother painters there, Ridolpho Ghirlandaïo, Aristotile di San Gallo, and many others: and he was very speedily distinguished by the patronage and good offices of men of rank and importance. His personal attractions, and the amenity of his manners, contributed to this scarcely less than the already recognised existence of talents which gave those acquainted with them far more than mere hope. One of the most enlightened nobles of Florence, a man afterwards connected by friendship and literary intercourse with cardinal Bembo, Tadeo Tadci, the protector of all who gave promise of talent, at once appreciated the genius of Raffaello. Not content with merely offering him his friendship, he received him into his house as an honoured guest, and, as we learn from a letter of Raffaello

to his uncle, carried his generous kindness even still further.

The period of the present residence of Raffaello at Florence was occupied in the production of various minor works, among which we may particularize those which his gratitude presented to Tadeo, and to Lorenzo Nasi, whose friendship he had also acquired.

For the former he executed two paintings which, in the time of Vasari, were still in the possession of Tadeo's heirs; subsequently dispersed, their very existence remained for a long time doubtful. It was only a few years since that information respecting them was traced out, whence it appeared that one of the pictures, purchased by the archduke Ferdinand of Austria for the sum of four thousand Roman crowns, is painted on circular panel, and represents the Virgin, half length, holding the Infant Jesus; on the edge of her collar is written the name of the artist. The other picture is at London (in the Bridgewater gallery), having been purchased for one thousand pounds.

The picture executed for Lorenzo Nasi represents the Holy Virgin with the Infant Jesus, to whom the infant St. John is offering a bird, a production full of information, grace, and beauty. This work, remarkable in itself as the first which distinctly manifests the change of manner in Raffaello, or at least the transition from the Peruginesque system to his own, acquired another act of celebrity from the catastrophe which well nigh involved it in utter destruction. In 1548, the fall of a portion of Monte San Giorgio overwhelmed, together with several other adjacent houses, the palace of Lorenzo Nasi, and Raffaello's picture was buried beneath its ruins. The pieces, however, being found and carefully put together, the work now constitutes one of the principal ornaments of the gallery at Florence.¹

There is also some doubt entertained as to the precise epoch at which Raffaello painted two portraits, described by Vasari, those of Angelo and Maddalena Doni, which

¹ By some, the picture in the gallery at Florence is regarded as merely a duplicate, or perhaps a copy of the original work presented to Nasi.

were subsequently transferred from Florence to Avignon, where Bottari saw them towards the middle of the last century. The uncertainty as to the period of these two works arises, in great measure, from the very close resemblance of Maddalena to the head of the Holy Virgin in the picture just noticed; and partly to the want of clearness in Vasari's own account of the matter. After remaining at Avignon a great many years almost entirely unknown to the world, they have recently become the property of the grand duke of Tuscany.

The death of Raffaello's father and mother recalled him to Urbino, for the purpose of arranging his affairs, and he remained there for some time. During this period he executed several small pieces for the duke of Urbino, Guidobaldo da Montefeltro: two Madonnas, the fate of which is at present unknown; a Christ in the Garden, with the three Apostles sleeping in the back-ground: of these pictures, Vasari says, the finish was so exquisite, that no miniature could surpass them in elaborate delicacy; we may pay the same tribute to three other small pieces which he painted at the same time for the same prince, and we pay this tribute upon personal observation of two of them, which are now in the Musée Royal at Paris.

The first of these is a St. George, on horseback; of which there is a repetition by Raffaello, of the same size. The Saint, armed *cap-a-pie*, in the manner of the knights of that period, is combating the dragon. This production belongs to the second period of Raffaello's genius. Its composition is bold, and full of animated action. The horse is all movement and life. The knightly saint has already broken his lance upon the monster, and, rushing a second time upon it, is about to destroy it with his sword. The colouring of the picture is brilliant; the pencil, throughout the production, has done its work with all that purity which characterized the style of the period.

Lomazzo, in giving (*Trattato*, i. 8,) the description and date of this picture, mentions that in his time it was at Fontainebleau. The repetition of the work, by Raffaello, which he also refers to, would seem to have disappeared.

The small Saint Michael in the Musée Royal, was undoubtedly painted at the same period with the Saint George, and intended as a companion piece. The archangel is represented fighting a monster, a winged dragon, which he is trampling under foot; the tail of his prostrate antagonist is twisted round his leg, but the upraised sword of the saint is about to inflict the last mortal blow. The attitude and general movement of the figure are impressed at once with vigour and with grace. It is a first idea of the large Saint Michael so admired in the same collection, and an account of which will be given in its place. Fifteen years separate the execution of the two works; yet already, in these slight designs, does the great painter give promise of his future self, as the perfect man is shadowed forth in the rising stripling.

Raffaello remained too brief a time at Urbino to leave there any very important memorial of his genius. It is said that nothing remains there to recal his memory except an inscription in his honour on the house in which he was born, and which Comolli tells us he saw there in 1791.¹

The chronology of the works of Raffaello in the earlier years of their production has given considerable difficulty to the critics. To insure a successful result to such an undertaking, two conditions are indispensable, both of them difficult to fulfil, and one of which indeed has, by the dispersion of the artist's pictures throughout Europe, become next to impossible. And besides, what critic could flatter himself with the idea of possessing all the various qualities essential to the discrimination necessarily required? Most interesting and most useful were it, could we follow exactly the remarkable progress displayed in these successive productions; the steps, more or less perceptible, of the transition from one manner to another. In the absence of the exact certainty we could desire, we must content ourselves with an approximate identification of dates.

That of 1505, at which we are now arrived, the period when Raffaello finally quitted Urbino, fixes the three

¹ See Appendix. t. i

years which preceded his departure for Rome. These three years, occupied in the labours that evidently resulted in his second manner, were divided between Perugia, which he visited twice, and his new studies at Florence. In the term *studies* we more especially include his intimacies with the leading masters of that city, whose greatest attributes, as will be seen, he succeeded in blending and fusing into his own manner.

We find Raffaello in 1505 engaged at Perugia upon three great works.¹ The first of these, in the church of the Sevites, was a picture representing the Virgin, Saint John the Baptist, and Saint Nicholas. Morelli, in his Description of Perugia, is of opinion that the work belongs to the manner of Perugino; but the heads prove it to have been the sole production of Raffaello. It went subsequently to England.

The second was a fresco for the Camaldulites of San Severo.² The subject is, Christ in glory, with God the Father surrounded by his angels, and six saints, three seated on each side, St. Benedict, St. Romuald, St. Laurence, St. Jerom, St. Maur, and St. Placidus. Raffaello has written his name in large letters on the work, with the date 1505. This may be regarded as the first idea of the Dispute of the Sacrament at Rome. It formed the upper portion of a large composition, the lower part of which was subsequently executed by Perugino, who has also set forth his name and the date of the work.

The third work, described in detail by Vasari,³ was painted for the convent of St. Antony. It was a large and fine composition, representing the Holy Virgin with the dead Christ resting on her lap, dressed in the robes of the order to which the convent belonged. On one side

¹ Vasari, iii. 166. Comolli, *Vita ined.* note 23.

Ib.

² The inscription on the portion executed by Raffaello runs thus :—
 "RAPHAEL DE URBINO DOMINO OCTAVIANO STEPHANO VOLATERRANO
 PRIORE SANCTAM TRINITATEM ANGELOS ASTANTES SANCTOSQUE
 PINXIT, A.D. MDV. On that painted by Perugino: PETRUS DE CASTRO
 PLEBIS PERUSINUS TEMPORE DOMINI SILVESTRI-STEPHANI VOLA-
 TERRANI A DEXTERIS ET SINISTRIS DIVÆ CHRISTIFERÆ SANCTOS
 SANCTASQUE PINXIT, A.D. MDXXI. (Orsini, *Vita di Pietro*, p. 213.)
 If this date be correct, Perugino was then seventy years old.

were St. Peter and St. Paul, on the other St. Cecilia and St. Catherine; the attitudes, the expression, and the masterly arrangement of the figures, were regarded at the time as something wholly novel. Above this composition, in a semicircular frame, Raffaello painted the Eternal Father. Along the altar pieces, he executed three small subjects; Christ in the Garden of Olives, Christ bearing the Cross, and the Dead Christ resting on the lap of the Virgin.

This magnificent composition was subsequently sold in detail by the nuns to relieve their necessities. The smaller pictures have been engraved. The principal subject, after for some time adorning the Colonna gallery at Rome, passed to Naples, where it now constitutes one of the chief treasures of the *Galeria Reale Borbonica*.

We have followed the usually recognised order in describing these pictures, but in our own opinion that mentioned second should in reality be placed third, for this reason, that it remained incomplete, a circumstance explained by the extreme desire of Raffaello to return to Florence. We find him, when requested by Atlanta Baglioni to paint for him, in his chapel of San Bernardino at Perugia, the Taking down from the Cross, which we shall refer to presently, undertaking to make a cartoon for it immediately upon his arrival at Florence, whither, he said, business imperatively called him.¹

We have every reason to suppose that the chief occupation of Raffaello at Florence was to follow the new course of studies to which he desired to devote himself. Moreover this city, which he now visited for the third time, offered him all the attractions of a second birthplace. Besides the friends whom he again met there, and the new subjects of study which awaited him, Raffaello would find there that pleasing competition, as beneficial to art as to the artist, and those contests between rival schools, whose jealousies at this epoch had perhaps greater activity than in any other age. It was thus that, in the preceding century, Donatello left Padua, because there he was too highly admired, and returned to Florence to seek severer critics.²

¹ Vasari, iii. 167.

² Vasari, Vit. d

Raffaello also was ambitious of having rivals rather than admirers. The studies he contemplated, as has already been observed, were to consist in collecting and adopting into his own substance, as it were, all the good points in each class of production.

The chapel del Carmine, painted in the preceding century by Masaccio, had become the centre-point of all those who, in the progress which that painter had given to imitation, saw the new steps which it was still called upon to make. Masaccio had added to the simple and unsophisticated style of the period, more thought, more expression, greater variety of arrangement, and greater vigour of tone. Raffaello has himself taught us the esteem in which he held these paintings, and the benefit he had derived from them. We shall presently see that his Adam and Eve in the Loggie of the Vatican, and the angel holding the flaming sword, are far beyond mere reminiscences of the same subject by Masaccio.

But the man to whom, of all his contemporaries at Florence, he was chiefly indebted for the change which, more especially in colouring, and the management of the pencil, characterized his second manner, was Fra Bartolomeo di San Marco, known, as a painter, under the name of Baccio della Porta, before he became a monk.¹ When he assumed the religious habit, he had quitted his art and his name. The intreaties, however, of his friends, and even the orders of his superiors, had induced him to resume the pencil, about the time of Raffaello's second journey to Florence.

It is certain that no painter of this epoch was comparable with him for a certain manner of painting, in which a good style of drawing is combined with a colouring at once rich and harmonious. This exactly suited the manner of Raffaello; uniformity of taste, therefore, soon united the two painters, and before long there was established a communion of friendship between them, which also became an interchange of talents. Raffaello learned of Fra Bartolomeo to give more vigour to his tints, and greater breadth

¹ Vasari, Vit. di Fra Bartolomeo

to the handling of his pencil. Fra Bartolomeo owed to the lessons of Raffaello the practice of perspective, the study of which he had hitherto neglected, and which it seems was taught very early in the school of Perugino, if we may judge from the picture of the Marriage of the Virgin mentioned above.

There is no proof, as I have already observed, of any private intercourse between Leonardo da Vinci and Raffaello during the various visits of the latter to Florence ; but what requires no proof, when we compare their works, is that there was a natural sympathy between them, a like taste for the same kind of grace and purity of style or design. Does not more than one of the pictures of Raffaello, painted about this period, such, for example, as that of the Virgin known under the name of *La Giardiniera*, seem, so to speak, to be of the same family with Leonardo's? It is, indeed, impossible, but that the bee of Urbino, in the elaboration of its industry, should, unconsciously if you will, have taken somewhat from the flowers of da Vinci.

It must, however, be owned that this rare combination of qualities which the artist appropriates to himself from the study of the works of nature and those of art, results from an operation of the mind and from a feeling which theory cannot analyse. To attempt to do so, were to affect to identify in the substance compounded by the bee, all the various elementary juices which it has made use of. It is the same with the action and productions of the intellect and moral taste, in the amalgamation of the styles of several masters. This is one of those mysteries of the imitative faculty, the action or effect of which is too often confounded, either with the process of the copier, or with the repetitions which the pupil is apt to make of the works of a single master. And this, let us at once observe, is what has produced the interminable controversy as to the influence of Michel Angelo over Raffaello, an influence, the existence of which we shall have occasion to discuss, when we find these two rivals together at Rome upon a more extensive theatre.

If we may believe facts and the concurrence of dates,

Vasari,¹ and many others after him, have greatly anticipated the introduction of Raffaello to the celebrated cartoon of Michel Angelo, which the artist could not have finished until 1506, that is to say, three years after Raffaello had left Pinturichio.

We can appreciate the extraordinary impression which this celebrated work would necessarily produce. Thoroughly to understand it, we must form a close idea of the method and style of design then prevalent, with very few exceptions, in all the schools. We will repeat, modern custom had not favoured the study of the human form: the devotional subjects then chiefly in vogue had not rendered this necessary; but had it been desirable, the few models then existing of antique statues would not have supplied the requisite knowledge of the nude. A certain truth prevailed throughout, but it did not rise above what is called portrait painting. To closely resembling physiognomies, corresponded the exact and mechanical copy of the costumes of the time. All there was of the nude, consisted of a delineation of rectilinear outlines, without articulation, or any real development of the muscles. The simplicity of the design corresponded with that of the composition. The painter dared not as yet venture upon any of those situations which require contrast of attitude, which present the human form in positions more or less difficult to catch, in varied groups or complicated arrangements, which a free and bold stroke alone can effect.

The imitation of some fragments of antique statues, and more than this, the deep and incessant study of anatomy to which Michel Angelo had devoted himself, soon placed him, as to drawing, far beyond his contemporaries. Commissioned to paint a companion to the Equestrian Combat already executed in a cartoon by Leonardo da Vinci, in an apartment of the Palazzo Vecchio, he selected as his subject a circumstance in the history of the war of Pisa, which gave him an opportunity to display his science in the imitation of the nude.

Such a subject would never have presented itself to the

¹ Vasari, *ib.* 163.

mind of his contemporaries. Invention is seldom in advance of the means of execution. Michel Angelo supposes, in this composition, that while the soldiers of the Florentine army are bathing in the Arno, the enemy unexpectedly appears. The roll-call has been beaten, the trumpet gives the signal of alarm. In an instant the bathers ascend the bank; some are hastily clothing and arming themselves; others are coming out of the water; and some, already on land, are giving their hands to the more tardy, to aid them in climbing the steep bank of the river.

This cartoon, into which Michel Angelo seems to have thrown all the power of design, all the youthful brilliancy of his talent, perished a few years afterwards, without the painting of it having been executed. The only vestiges remaining of it consist of a few figures engraved separately by Agostino Veneziano and Marc-Antonio, but these cannot convey any real idea of the whole work. An almost complete representation of it, however, appeared a few years since in an engraving,¹ carefully executed, and, as far as can be judged, after a small drawing, which must necessarily have been done by some contemporary.²

No work has ever obtained celebrity equal to that of the cartoon of the War of Pisa. Vasari has exhausted upon it every form of eulogy, every expression of admiration and enthusiasm. It were impossible, indeed, were we merely to consider the state of the arts at this period, and the contemporary testimonies, to entertain any doubt as to the extraordinary sensation which the appearance of this *chef-d'œuvre* must have produced. But the engraving of which we have just spoken has confirmed the accounts and praises of the time. Michel Angelo would seem to have resolved to display in this composition, both his profound knowledge of the muscles which no one else had then

¹ London, by Schiavonetti

² In a note to the Life of Michel Angelo, by Vasari, v. 182, it is said that a drawing on a small scale of this cartoon was done at the time by Bastiano di San Gallo, who, after the destruction of the original, would not allow a copy of it to be taken. May not this be the drawing now in London?

an idea of, and his wondrous ability to present the human form under every variety of aspect, making nothing of the most complicated postures, the most compound movements, the most daring foreshortenings. In a word, by this piece alone, he not only emancipated the art of design from the narrow circle of a cold and timid method, but he carried it at one stroke to a point beyond which he himself never went.

The cartoon of Michel Angelo became, then, the object of study with all artists.¹ Raffaello is mentioned among the number of those who studied it; and there is no doubt, that although he could neither have seen nor studied it in 1503, as Vasari has erroneously related, there was nothing to prevent him, being at Florence, or constantly going there from 1506 to 1508, from repeatedly seeing that work which excited the admiration of all artists.

And here presents itself a consideration to which we shall recur: If Raffaello could thus appreciate at leisure the profound science and grand style of design of this cartoon, what foundation can there be for the story of his afterwards gaining secret admission to the Sistine chapel, in order to study the science of his rival?

It is quite clear that Raffaello repeatedly saw at Florence this finest work as respects design that Michel Angelo ever produced. Who can doubt that he derived real benefit from the sight? But to what extent, and in what manner? This we know not. In morals as in physics, there are aliments which do not equally or in like manner profit all who take them. To adopt and make one's own, certain qualities in the imitation of the fine arts, a predisposition is necessary, that of sympathy of taste and similar faculties. Now, of the infinity of various merits to combine which is given to no man, we know there are some more or less irreconcilable with each other. It will, therefore, happen, that the artist who is endowed with a larger share of imagination or sensibility, for example, and who devotes himself from preference to the expression of the feeling of beauty and grace, will seem

¹ Vasari, *Vit. di Mich. Ang.*, vi. p. 184.

likely to derive but slight aid from models of strength, boldness, and anatomical science, the result of studies and faculties belonging to an entirely different class of merit.

It seems to us that thus it happened with Raffaello. Michel Angelo doubtless taught him to give greater development to the form of his design, greater liberty and amplitude to his style. But what Raffaello thus acquired did not pervert his own peculiar characteristic, nor that which constituted his taste. He had too much to lose in becoming the follower of Michel Angelo. The works which he produced at this time, and which we are about to describe, do not really denote any sensible influence of Michel Angelo's manner over his own. They prove, on the contrary, that he did not cease to follow the line which his own genius had traced out to him, and that he did not even hasten his course. We see there progress, indeed, but it was slow and graduated; there is no sudden change, no abrupt transition.

This, it is true, were susceptible of dispute if we supposed that the beautiful Holy Family in the Rinuccini palace, which Vasari mentions among the works which preceded the departure of Raffaello for Rome, really belonged solely to this period. But the commentator on the biographer,¹ in a very long note, in which he relates all the vicissitudes of this production, tells us that in 1766 it was at last discovered for what it really was, and that the cleaning which it then underwent showed the name of Raffaello, with the date 1516, the period of his fourth journey to Florence in the train of Leo X. This picture, then, was commenced in the first and finished in the third manner of Raffaello. The subject is one of those which we shall have to describe as repetitions when we speak in detail of the Madonas and Holy Families which his pencil so multiplied.

This picture is not the only one of which circumstances then obliged him to interrupt the execution and to defer the completion. Pressed by numerous commissions, and not having yet established a school, he was obliged to do

¹ Vasari, *ib.*, pp. 168, 169.

everything himself, and thus to divide himself between Florence and Perugia.

It was at Florence that, according to his promise, he executed the cartoon of the picture intended for the Baglioni chapel of San Bernardino at Perugia. This picture being certainly painted in oil and upon wood, the double mention made by Vasari¹ of the cartoon intended for this work, leads us to remark upon a peculiarity which attached to the process of the painter and of painting at this period, a peculiarity which seems not to have received the attention it deserves. It is known that painting in fresco necessarily requires for its execution that the artist should have entirely arranged beforehand, upon what is called a cartoon, the composition and its details, which are then traced, piece by piece, on the stucco of the wall. This preliminary design, of the exact size of the work to be done, is not equally indispensable in paintings upon wood, canvas, metal, &c. It seems to us, however, and more than one work of his leads us to the supposition, that Raffaello also made cartoons for pictures in oil, that is, a fixed design, drawn in chalk, which became as it were the model of the picture.

He must have proceeded in this way² with the picture which he executed at Perugia for the Baglioni chapel, representing the Entombment of Christ, one of the most remarkable productions of this period, or even since, and which is now the chief ornament of the Borghese gallery at Rome.

The greatest difficulty that presents itself to him who describes works of art, is to find, in the terms of language and the forms of eulogy, modifications and gradations in proportion to the infinite shades and degrees of merit

¹ Vasari, *ib.*, p. 167 and 170.

² This supposition is rendered more than probable, as regards the picture in question, by two fragments of the drawing of the Christ which are preserved, one of them, comprising Christ with the figures who support him, in the possession of M. Camuccini. The Louvre contains the original division of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, the picture of which is at London. The sketch in crayon is of the exact size of the picture. The figure is small life-size.

before him. This is the main embarrassment, more especially, with regard to the works of Raffaello; for what terms can we subsequently find to express our thoughts, when, in the picture before us, we have lauded the variety of the composition, the justness of the movements, the nobleness of the style, the force of expression, and the merit of the colouring and of the handling. The work under consideration is the best calculated of any to enable us to appreciate the enormous progress of Raffaello. He was then twenty-four years old, and supposing him to have entered the house of Perugino at the age of twelve, he was now in the middle of his career.

The nude in the Christ perhaps still bears some trace of the dry and meagre style of the old school; but in the making up of this composition, in the attitudes of the two persons bearing the body of the Saviour, there is at once a feeling of truth and of nobleness till then unknown. He who is descending the steps of the sepulchre backwards exhibits the two-fold expression of moral grief and physical effort. Nothing can be more noble or more graceful than the attitude and development of the young man who supports the lower part of the body. Nowhere has the deadness of death been given with so true a feeling as in the body itself. Each personage of the attendant group has the exact degree of expression which befits him. As to the grief of the Virgin, and the holy women around her, Raffaello has produced nothing more expressive, except in the Bearing of the Cross, called *del Spasimo*.

Speaking of the picture we have just described; Vasari, thirty years after its execution, says that it had all the freshness of a work but just finished. We may almost say the same of it now, after more than three centuries.

There is the same merit, freshness, and high preservation about the charming picture of the Virgin that Raffaello executed for Siena,¹ and which is known by the name of *La Giardiniera*.² Her dress, which indeed somewhat resembles that of a villager, may probably have gained

¹ Vasari, *ib.*, p. 171.

² It was bought by Francis I., and is in the Louvre.



LA GIARDINIERA.

for it this title. This is one of those simple designs, which more especially from the size (small life) of the figures we may place in the first rank of those in which Raffaello, before rising to the ideal of his subject, as he afterwards did, confined himself to the conceptions of pure simplicity, innocence, and modest grace, of which he found the models in the young village girls. Nothing can equal the artlessness of this composition. The tone of colour and the style of drawing are in admirable harmony, and that harmony could create nothing purer, or more divine than the form of the Infant Jesus, and the feeling of adoration of the little Saint John.

Three things prove that this picture belongs to the same period with the preceding: first, the date upon it, 1507; next, there exists a drawing of it by the hand of Raffaello, at the back of which are seen sketches of figures belonging to the composition of Christ at the tomb. Finally, we know that Raffaello set out for Rome before completing the blue drapery of the Virgin which Ridolpho Ghirlandaio undertook to finish.¹

It is to the same period, that preceding this departure, that we must assign the picture of the Assumption, commenced for the nuns of Monte-Lucia, at Perugia, which Raffaello engaged to execute, by a document dated 1505, and for which he received thirty ducats of gold on account.² This engagement remained unfulfilled until 1516, when, solicited to perform it, he signed another agreement with the nuns, by which he bound himself to finish the work for 200 golden ducats, within fifteen months!³ We shall see that Raffaello here promised more than he could accomplish. The picture remained in the same state during his life; it was finished after his decease by Francesco Penni and Giulio Romano,⁴ his pupils, and legatees.⁵ We shall, therefore, not pursue our own remarks upon the work.

We shall limit ourselves also to the bare mention of

¹ Vasari, *ib.* p. 171.

² Comolli, p. 110, and 117.

³ See Appendix II.

⁴ Vasari, *Vita di Francesco Penni*, *iii.* 339.

⁵ This picture, in the course of the wars of the revolution, was brought to France, whence it returned to Rome, and is now in the Vatican.

another picture which was commissioned of him by the Dei family of Florence, for a chapel in the church of the Holy Ghost; and we only mention it, because this picture, unfinished by Raffaello, and of the completion of which there is more than one account, shows how the reputation of Raffaello had already augmented, and how eagerly the productions of his pencil were sought for. The work now adorns the Pitti palace at Florence.

Raffaello himself seems at this time to have conceived a sufficiently high opinion of his powers to desire an opportunity of entering more immediately into the lists of competition with the two men whose strength he had most to fear, Leonardo da Vinci and Michel Angelo. A letter, dated 11th of April, 1508, written by him to his uncle at Urbino, reveals to us both his pretensions and his hopes in this matter. He solicits his uncle to procure for him a letter of recommendation to the gonfaloniere of Florence, not, as Lanzi relates, from the duke of Urbino, whose death he himself takes occasion to deplore, but from him whom he calls *S^r. Prefetto*, in order that he may obtain the painting of an apartment (doubtless in the Palazzo Vecchio,) the commission for which, he says, depends on the gonfaloniere.

When we see how many works Raffaello was urged to undertake by private patrons, so many that he could not execute them, the reader will readily imagine with us that the feeling which induced him to seek this employment was solely the emulous ambition of contending with the two greatest artists of the day, and doubtless, with his own weapons, that is, in opposing his manner of seeing, feeling, and doing, to theirs; for, we repeat, nothing in his works as yet evinced what can be called the precise imitation of any master; or, in other words, the need or the inclination which induces one artist to form to himself, of the talent or manner of another, a guide whose steps he follows, without aiming to outstrip him. The sequel will, we think, perhaps still further confirm the impossibility of such being the case with Raffaello.

But a happier fortune awaited Raffaello. While he

only aspired to find himself fixed at Florence by important works, a more powerful recommendation than that he had solicited deranged his projects. His reputation had reached Rome. Bramante, a distant relation of his, architect to Julius II., whose confidence he fully enjoyed, proposed him to the pope, who accepted him, to paint or repaint the state apartments of the Vatican.

It was in the year 1508 that Raffaello quitted Florence for the capital of the Christian world. Most of the state apartments of the Vatican had already been painted, or were being painted, by the most celebrated artists then in Rome, such as Pietro della Francesca, Luca Signorelli da Cortona, D. Bartolomeo della Gatta, abbot of Saint Clement of Arezzo, Bramantino da Milano, Antonio Rozzi da Vercelli, all artists of whom Vasari has made honourable mention. We must also notice Pietro Perugino, who was about to be succeeded by his pupil, whose gratitude protected the work of his master, and respected the paintings with which he had ornamented the ceilings of the hall of Charlemagne. It appears, indeed, that in other parts of the decorations, he had the same regard for some of his predecessors.

Julius II. received Raffaello with every demonstration of kindness. He commissioned him to paint forthwith the hall called *della Segnatura*; and here were executed the four great compositions, whose subjects, according to the titles or names which custom has given them, are, the *Dispute of the Sacrament*, the *School of Athens*, *Parnassus*; and *Jurisprudence*.¹

Each of these subjects is surmounted in the semicircular frame of the ceiling, by an allegorical female figure, which, if we may so express it, is its summary, and might, if necessary, serve as its argument. It is said by some that these compartments in the ceiling are the remains of the ancient decoration,² and that Raffaello merely substituted new figures. They deserve a special mention for the ingenious ideas exhibited in their allegories.

That which surmounts the *Dispute of the Sacrament*,

¹ Engraved by Volpato and Morghen.

² Vasari, ib. p. 178.

probably the first figure that Raffaello painted at Rome, (fresco requiring the stucco to be commenced upon at the top.) represents Theology seated on clouds, with two small figures pointing out, upon two tablets which they hold, the words, *Rerum divinarum notitia*. She holds a closed book in her left hand, and with the other, pointing with her finger towards the earth, above which she is raised, she seems to say that this *knowledge of divine things* is denied to its inhabitants.

The allegorical figure of Philosophy is at once explained, as it is proper (more so than is generally supposed) that every allegory of which custom has not rendered the meaning commonly known, should be explained, by an inscription. Two small figures, placed on each side, present to the spectator two scrolls, bearing this motto, *Causarum cognitio*. When we are acquainted with the subject, we have all the greater pleasure in reading, in the figure itself, and in its attributes, the profound thought of the painter, who, in the first place, has given as the seat of Philosophy a throne, each step in the ascent of which is one of those terms called Diana of Ephesus, a symbolical assemblage of the various kingdoms of nature. Faithful to the aim of this allegory, Raffaello has distributed into three zones, upon the tunic of Philosophy, in the higher zone, Heaven, expressed by stars; in the middle, the sea, with fishes; on the lower part of the drapery, all kinds of plants. A similar ornament decorated the robe of Jupiter Olympus by Phidias.

Above the great painting of Parnassus, we admire the beautiful and simple allegory of Poetry. The two small figures which accompany it might certainly dispense with telling us, by the words they present to us to read, *Numine afflatur*, that which the figure herself expresses by her eyes. The painter has given her wings; her head is crowned with laurels; her throne is supported by steps, each terminating in a head. Some have thought that the one upon which the left arm rests, holding a lyre, is that of Homer,¹ and that the volume held in the right hand,

¹ It appears indisputable that the marble head of Homer (restored from the antique) had not been discovered in the time of Raffaello.

was intended by Raffaello to be understood as containing the works of the prince of poets. We cannot answer for the justness of this opinion.

The subject of Jurisprudence, of which we shall presently speak, is surmounted by the figure of Justice. The diadem she wears is the emblem of the sovereignty she exercises. She holds the balance in one hand, and the sword in the other. Two scrolls, borne by four small figures around her, have the device, *Jus suum unicuique tribuit*.

The four angles of the ceiling of this apartment are ornamented with compartments of figures, about half the size of life. They are painted on a gilt ground, and represent subjects connected with the allegorical figures of the circular medallions we have just described, and with each of the great compositions which will form the matter of a more ample description.

Thus, to the figure of Theology corresponds the subject of Adam and Eve (engraved by Richomme), the general design of which visibly corresponds to that of the Dispute of the Sacrament. The Judgment of Solomon, which refers to the picture of Jurisprudence, presents, like the latter, more grandeur of manner, and gives reason to suppose that it may have been executed the last. The subject of the picture of the School of Athens, or of Philosophy, is recalled to us in the compartment where we see the figure of a woman bending over a sphere, which she is attentively examining; her countenance expresses deep reflection, and her gesture astonishment. The subject of the fourth compartment is the Punishment of Marseyas; it is scarcely necessary to point out its relation with Apollo in the Parnassus. We may, however, fitly remark the imitation here by the painter of the ancient statue of Marseyas; and also the excellent drawing of this figure, as well as that of the Scythian, the executor of Apollo's vengeance.

We cannot but be astonished that two of the four great compositions whose subjects we have already named, subjects, moreover, so clearly indicated by the four allegories, should have been, with Vasari, the matter for a confusion

which perverts both their meaning and their spirit.¹ He has fallen into two mistakes respecting them, which a few words will suffice to correct:² the first as to the precise designation of the subject of the School of Athens, the elements and figures of which he has confused with those of the *Dispute of the Sacrament* so preposterously as to mix up in his description the evangelists and angels with Plato, Aristotle, and Diogenes.

The second error into which Vasari leads his reader consists in giving a fallacious statement of the order in which these paintings were executed. Now, this order, which our history has hitherto endeavoured to follow, acquires still greater importance, and offers an ever-increasing interest, from the time when Raffaello, arrived at Rome and entered upon a new career, went on to develop his genius with that same progress which we have hitherto observed, and which is so clearly manifested in the hall *della Segnatura*.

Raffaello was twenty-five years old when he came to Rome. Already far removed from that timid style of drawing, and poverty of composition, which characterized the schools of the fifteenth century, he was perhaps as much so from that grand and bold manner and that richness of conception which we shall observe in the works which distinguish the maturity of his talent. The style of his first work at Rome would naturally differ but little from his last at Florence, which was the Virgin, called *la Giardiniera*. It therefore needs little perception to decide which of the four subjects about to occupy us was the first work of his pencil at Rome. Mengs has, indeed, already shown the fallacy of Vasari on this point.³

¹ Vasari must have written his description at Florence, where his memory might play him false.

² We clear up this confusion, because it has been repeated by Borghini, (*Riposo*, v. 316,) and again in a French translation of some of the lives of Vasari, published in 1804.

³ *Opere di Mengs*, i. 129, ed. Parma. "I am aware," says a later edition of Vasari, "of the opinion of Bellori and Mengs, which has obtained credit, that the *Dispute of the Sacrament* was the first painted by Raffaello of these large pictures: but as this opinion, however plausible,

The Dispute of the Sacrament evidently partakes in a much higher degree than the School of Athens of what we must call the youth, both of the art and of the artist. It must be understood that all art in general, and every talent in particular, passing through the degrees of different periods, have also their age of adolescence, which is, as with man, the point midway between infancy and maturity, when the body, partaking of both the one and the other, still retains more of the qualities of the former state than it has acquired of the latter. Such, in the imitative arts, is the charm which we find in what is called the *naïveté* of the schools of the second age; and such also is the character of the style of Raffaello in the Dispute of the Sacrament. It was still a work of his youth.

The space of the composition is great; but all that fills this space still belongs to the habit of treating small subjects. Even the figures in it are of small relative dimensions. The character of the heads or countenances, is full of truth, but, for the most part, of that kind of truth which, according to the practice of the fifteenth century, was that of portrait painting. Some traces, again, of what has been called the gothic taste, are visible in the application of gilding to many of the details. The completely symmetrical arrangement of the upper part of the composition, is a tradition, improved upon, doubtless, but still plainly perceptible, of the old established conventionalisms for theological representations of Christianity. We find in the picture of the Last Judgment of Orcagna,¹ the type faithfully imitated by Raffaello, of that row of saints whom he has arranged in a circle, to figure forth Heaven and the assembly of the blessed, inspiring the fathers of the council. At the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova at Flo-

is no otherwise founded than on their theory of the progressive change in his style of colouring and composition, I do not think their authority sufficiently conclusive to set aside the testimony of two contemporary authors, who expressly say that the School of Athens was the first picture that Raffaello painted in the Vatican." See, also, Comolli, *Vita de Raff.* 25.

¹ See *Pitt. a fresco del Campo Santo*, engraved by C. Lasinio, pl. 4.

rence, **Fra Bartolomeo** had painted a similar assembly of saints, disposed in the same way in the air, the lower portion of which represents an assembly of figures in a row, from which Raffaello seems to have adopted more than a mere reminiscence.

It must be allowed, however, that, in his first painting at Rome, he departed, with more or less success, from the imitation then so universal of modern dresses. The only cases in which he has conformed to this practice were indispensable to the representation of the different personages of the sacerdotal order. As to the other figures, they are attired in fanciful costumes, though still with less fulness and variety than in his later works.

It is known that the composition whose subject is what is called the *Dispute of the Sacrament*, is only an ideal representation of the council in which the controversies on the sacrament of the Eucharist were terminated.¹ Raffaello,

¹ "I am of opinion," says Mr. Fuseli, "that this series of pictures form one immense allegorical drama, representing the origin, progress, extent, and final triumph of church empire, or ecclesiastical government. In the first subject of the Parnassus, Poetry, led back to its origin and first duty, the herald and interpreter of a first cause, in the universal language of imagery addressed to the senses, unites man, scattered and savage, in social and religious bands. What was the surmise of the eye and the wish of hearts is gradually made the result of reason, in the characters of the School of Athens, by the researches of philosophy, which, from bodies to mind, from corporeal harmony to moral fitness, and from the duties of society, ascends to the doctrine of God and hopes of immortality. Here revelation in its stricter sense commences, and conjecture becomes a glorious reality: in the composition of the Dispute on the Sacrament, the Saviour, after ascension, seated on his throne, the attested Son of God and man, surrounded by his types, the prophets, patriarchs, apostles, and the hosts of Heaven, institutes the mysteries, and initiates in his Sacrament the heads and presbyters of the church militant, who, in the awful presence of their Master and the celestial synod, discuss, explain, and propound his doctrine. That the sacred mystery shall clear all doubt and subdue all heresy, is taught in the miracle of the bloodstained wafer; that without arms, by the arm of Heaven itself, it shall release its votaries and defeat its enemies, the deliverance of Peter, the overthrow of Heliogorus, the flight of Attila, the captive Saracens, bear testimony; that nature itself shall submit to its power and the elements obey its mandates, the checked conflagration of the Borgo declares; till hastening to its ultimate triumphs, its union with the state is proclaimed by the Vision of Constantine, confirmed by

availing himself of the privilege of anachronism, granted to painters as well as to poets, has here assembled various persons who did not belong to the same age, but whom a common zeal for the defence of the faith and its doctrines have united in the honours awarded them by the church. This fictitious assemblage is a licence to which the mind willingly lends itself. Still, as the work of the painter speaks to the material sense by corporal signs, the artist should put some restriction upon the use of this poetical conventionality—that is, in this sort of ideal co-existence, he should avoid anything that may too glaringly contradict it. Such a reproach cannot attach to the various personages whose names are mentioned in connexion with their pictures, still less to some of the figures to which Raffaello, as was the case in several of his other compositions, gave his own portrait and that of Bramante.

The agreement of which we have spoken has been perfectly observed in the *Dispute of the Sacrament*. For in this subject there is actually no action, and, consequently, no co-operation. The object which serves as the point of union for all the actors in this religious scene, has nothing material in it, so that there is nothing in the least to offend historical probability.

This observation will be even more applicable to the two following compositions, which may be called symbolico-historical.

The picture of the Dispute of the Sacrament remained throughout the painter-life of Raffaello, the true intermediate point, which, dividing it into two equal parts, seems to measure both the road which he had gone over, and that which he had to traverse. Accordingly, in the composition of this work there is still seen the simple ingenuousness of adolescence; in the drawing, that sort of grace which appertains to a remains of timidity; in the colouring and manner of painting, an impress still visible of

the rout of Maxentius, established by the imperial pupil's receiving baptism, and submitting to accept his crown at the feet of the mitred pontiff."

what we might call virgin grace. In a word, *there is no longer the child, but there is not yet the perfect man.*

Raffaello had framed for himself, or perhaps there had been suggested to him for the decoration of this apartment of the Vatican, a programme of subjects relating to the arts and sciences. It is evident that such compositions, rich in persons, but devoid of passion and of action, were completely in harmony with the taste for pure drawing, with the finished class of painting to which he was accustomed. We shall see hereafter the choice of his subjects adapt themselves, as it were, in the movement of progress they require, to the increasing daring of his style, unless it be supposed, which is equally probable, that the means of the artist increased in energy, in order to conform themselves to the nature of the subjects which were dictated to him in his new manner.

The painting of the School of Athens (or the Gymnasium, as it is also called), however, shows us Raffaello already visibly improved, and improved in every respect. The subject, more imaginative, more closely allied to the antique manner than any of his former efforts, entirely freed him from the timid restrictions of the portrait style, which we have mentioned as characterizing the figures of the fifteenth century. It was necessary for him to elevate himself to the level of forms, characters, ideas, and arrangement, of which the modern schools were not in a position to teach him anything, which proves, as we have already said, that the study, not only of the drawing, but of the taste and genius of antiquity, had held an important place in his education at Florence.

The idea of this great composition necessarily defying all description, we will limit ourselves here to a simple observation upon the period at which Raffaello executed this so remarkable assemblage of antique worthies, and reproduced the most celebrated philosophers of Greece, without the aid of the original portraits, which at this time had not yet enlarged the treasures of archæology. We cannot, indeed, too highly admire the sort of divination on the part of the genius which could revive with so much truth, and in attitudes so noble and expressive,

Aristotle and Plato, Socrates and Diogenes, Chrysippus, Epicurus, and many others. They are figures and countenances which antiquity itself would not disown. To appreciate all the merit of this kind of divination, we must carry ourselves back to the epoch at which Raffaello executed the composition. This is the true test.

Before the School of Athens, the knowledge of antiquity had no more entered into the conceptions of painters, than the taste or science of the antique (a very different thing) had influenced the drawing of painters, excepting in the latter respect, Michel Angelo. The figures of the finest subjects of antiquity, religious or profane, were almost always set forth in a travesty of the costumes of the age and country of the painter. It is difficult to find in the two preceding centuries any subjects belonging to what is called profane history. When, however, one such did present itself to the imitation of art, no painter ever suspected that the Greeks or Romans had had any peculiar costume; that, for example, a warrior, a philosopher, or a consul, had been clothed differently from a modern knight, monk, or mayor.

Raffaello, then, had no kind of model before him for the class, style, and invention of his painting of the School of Athens. No one among his predecessors could have inspired him with the least idea as to it; and (which is very remarkable), none since him has yet come up to him in what we may call the ideal of such a subject.

After the innumerable discoveries of which Raffaello could not have had even a presentiment, and which have reproduced iconographic antiquity almost entire; after that multitude of originals, recovered in the last three centuries, and which have presented to the creations of the School of Athens so many and such dangerous rivals, the style of this composition has continued to keep its place in the opinion of artists. The figures of many of the persons of antiquity there represented, have continued to be deemed classic, even by the side of those which the chisel of the Greeks has transmitted to us: in so high a degree was Raffaello gifted with the power of divining antiquity.

Many of the sketches he made for the School of Athens,

and rejected, have come down to us.¹ These sketches are so far curious, that they show the degrees through which his genius passed, to mount from an order of very inferior ideas to the height and nobleness of those on which his choice rested. But even the ideas he disdained were much superior to the ordinary inventions of the day; than which fact nothing can better prove how far removed this work must have been, when completed, from all that had preceded it.

This superiority was indeed so marked, and so evident, that Julius II. gave orders to efface and destroy the works already executed in the state apartments, by the painters whom we have named above. Raffaello was commissioned to replace these, and the whole of the enterprise was thus confided to him.

Each of Raffaello's great compositions in the Vatican, and we may say the same of many others of his works, affords matter for a special history or historical notice, so numerous are the points of view susceptible of the criticism of art and of artistic taste. And how many peculiar features of interest might not be found there by the curious observer of details relating to former times, places, and persons!

The mere mention, however, figure by figure, group by group, plan by plan, name by name, of each subject would occupy infinite pages, and swell out our work without corresponding benefit to the reader. Nothing, indeed, gives less the idea of a whole, destined to speak to the eyes, than the analysis of all its parts into an account that only addresses itself to the understanding. Besides, what works of art are better known than those of Raffaello at the Vatican? What would those who know them learn further, from a description thus frittered out? and what would it teach to those who know not the creations themselves? It is for this reason that, in a general history of Raffaello and his works, we have preferred arresting the attention of the reader less upon descriptive details, too often mute to the imagination, than upon the qualities which distinguish

¹ The engravings of these sketches are in the collection of London pl. 354 and 355.

each work, and which, in the peculiarities of each, convey an idea of the successive progress of the artist's genius.

It has been seen that in the composition, as well as in the execution of the *School of Athens*, Raffaello had recovered, so to speak, the long lost thread of the manner and taste of antiquity, and had at length connected with the eternal models of the true and beautiful, the chain of modern inventions. This imitative action is perhaps still more visible in the art with which, in his *Parnassus*, he has instinctively adopted, not only the style of antiquity, but even the arrangement of a particular classic statue, the *Cleopatra*. Raffaello's *Parnassus*, considered as a whole, is a sort of alliance between the genius of ancient times and that of the modern. We there see upon the same *Helicon*, and under the same groves of laurel, wandering together with the *Muses*, and around a new *Apollo*, the ancient minstrels of Greece and Rome, and the poets of modern Italy.

It is evidence of vast skill in Raffaello, that he could thus bring together, and with so much fitness, persons of physiognomy and period so various; and our wonder and satisfaction in finding them here assembled are all the greater, that the eye in distinguishing them is not offended by a too manifest disparity. With the unimportant exception of the instrument which *Apollo* is playing, and which has some temporary allusion, this picture, from its style, might have been the work of an antique pencil. Many of his *Muses* might have found a place on the *Parnassus* of the Greeks; and the blind poet of the *Iliad* could not have been represented there with more truth or nobleness.

Not to go into the useless detail of repeating the names of the modern poets, whose portraits in the fresco are generally known, and the ancient poets, whom one might well suppose to have been personally known to the artist, we shall content ourselves with pointing out the skill with which he has availed himself in this composition of the window which, occurring in its space, we might have thought would have cut his picture into two abrupt parts. Yet that which might have been an impediment, he has

turned to the advantage of the subject, in which the ground, rising gradually, is so managed that the space created by the window seems only a break in the mountain represented. Other paintings in this series will give us occasion to remark a similar address in profiting by similar local irregularities.

The wall of the hall *della Segnatura*, which faces the painting of Parnassus or Poesy, is in like manner pierced by a window, occupying the lower part of the space, the arched top of which serves as a frame for all the other compositions; this fourth frame representing, as its subject and device show us, the figure of Justice, there seems no reason to doubt, as some have done, that the subject of the painting of which we are about to speak is only to be expressed by the term *Jurisprudence*, so far as it is the personification of the science of rendering justice. Raffaello has then divided into three compartments, dictated by the varieties of the locality, figures adapted to explain clearly to the eye and to the mind the subject he sought to develop. In one of the two spaces formed by the insertion of the window, he has painted Justinian publishing the Digest; in the other, Gregory IX. giving out the Decretals.

The portion above the window has three large allegorical female figures, with four small figures. That in the middle, seated higher than the other two, appears to us Jurisprudence,¹ or the science of justice personified. The head has two faces; the one, that of a woman; the other, that of a bearded old man; the latter indicates that the figure knows the past. One of the smaller figures presents to her the mirror, the symbol of knowledge, and the torch held behind her by another figure signifies discernment.

On one side of Jurisprudence sits Force, recognised as such by the character of her face, her headdress, her armour, the branch of oak which she holds in one hand, and by the lion upon which her other hand rests. On the

¹ Bottari, and before him Vasari and other critics, have given it the name of Prudence.

other side is Moderation, indicated by the bit which she holds, and which is her symbol.

In these beautiful figures Raffaello gave evidence of a very marked advance in manner and style. We might be disposed to attribute this progress to the enlarged size of the figures, and doubtless the comparison, to be made only on the spot, with the other three compositions, of which we have spoken, and perhaps, too, the somewhat cold colouring of the Parnassus, may contribute to the effect of which we speak. Still, every one will agree that in the Jurisprudence the fresco is treated with greater breadth, that the style of drawing has much more amplitude, and that the general character participates more largely or that grandeur, that ideality, in which the antique alone could have given lessons to Raffaello.

In the soffit above the Parnassus, we read, as in the other apartments, the date when the work was terminated. This date, 1511, shows us that two or three years only sufficed to accomplish the four great compositions.¹

We shall here offer some preliminary considerations to facilitate the future decision of the so much controverted question, created by the repeated assertions of Vasari, as to what Raffaello owed or did not owe to Michel Angelo.

None of the works executed by Raffaello before he visited Rome give any intimation of the least approach to the learned taste and daring design which constitute the glory of the master of the Florentine school. After 1508, Raffaello and Michel Angelo were together at Rome, as is proved by facts. There, doubtless, some of the finest remains of antiquity then just discovered, the Torso, among others, so often copied by Michel Angelo, may have united them in

¹ "The School of Athens is full of striking parts and ingenious contrasts; but I prefer to it the Convocation of Saints, with that noble circle of prophets and apostles in the sky, on whose bent foreheads and down-cast eyes you see written the City of the Blest, the beatific presence of the Most High, and the glory hereafter to be revealed, a solemn brightness and a fearful dream, and that scarce less inspired circle of sages canonized here on earth, poets, heroes, and philosophers, with the painter himself entering on one side, like the recording angel, smiling in youthful beauty, and scarce conscious of the scene he has embodied." Haslitt, *Criticisms on Art*, vol. i. Templeman, 1844.

a common taste; but the antique, as has been often said, is like nature, where each finds what his own genius tells him to seek there. Michel Angelo, as everything proves, only sought and only found in the antique, the character of force of the male statues, the expression of muscular vigour, and what is called the science of drawing. Raffaello, seeking the expression of the beautiful, skilful in collecting its elements wherever he went, combined them and perfected their application by the additional study at Rome of the arts of antiquity. It was by *beauty* that the antique particularly captivated his taste. The habit of considering it chiefly in this point of view, gave him, beyond all painters, that purity so free from hardness, that grace, so opposed to affectation, that nobleness of style without ostentation, and that inexhaustible wealth of invention, all of them qualities which we should in vain seek in the works of Michel Angelo.

The opinion of posterity has rendered these two artists so essentially rivals in renown after their death, that it is difficult to suppose there was not some rivalry of self-love between them while they lived; the sequel of this history will give us the truth of this matter, in a direction, perhaps, little anticipated, for, as Michel Angelo was some years in advance of Raffaello, it has been very natural to suppose that the last comer would have coveted the fame of his predecessor, and seek, by imitation, to take from him the means of surpassing him.

Some intrigues of Bramante, and other artists, really jealous of the reputation of Michel Angelo, have given an appearance to these suspicions. Bramante, architect and director-in-chief of the works of the Vatican, saw with annoyance the sums which Julius II. had resolved to apply to the enormous enterprise of his mausoleum by Michel Angelo; he feared lest this colossal undertaking of sculpture might prejudice that of the decorations of the Vatican, for which he had summoned Raffaello. In concert with Giuliano di San Gallo,¹ he skilfully exerted himself to divert the pope from the continuation of his

¹ Vasari, Vita di Michel Angelo

tomb. He at last succeeded in persuading him to have the ceiling of the chapel, built by pope Sixtus, his uncle, painted, and to charge Michel Angelo with this decoration. It has been pretended, an assertion which can neither be proved nor disproved, that malignity had somewhat to do with this project, of which the secret aim must have been to bring disgrace upon Michel Angelo, little versed in fresco painting, and to give a corresponding exaltation to the fame of Raffaello's talent. What is, however, quite clear, is, that Michel Angelo, who had no equal in sculpture, fearing to compromise himself in the art of painting, for a long time excused himself from accepting this commission, and endeavoured to procure its transference to Raffaello;¹ but Julius II. insisted, and Michel Angelo had no alternative but obedience.

All this could not have taken place before 1509. The apprenticeship which Michel Angelo had to go through in fresco painting, the trial of the assistants whom he sent for from Florence, and whom he speedily sent back there again, consumed time. If we assign, and we cannot assign less, for the first half of the decoration of the ceiling of the Sistine chapel, twenty months,² the space of time which we know was employed in finishing the second, it will be seen that the exhibition of the first part, which seems to have been abruptly ordered by Julius II., could not have taken place before 1514,³ the period at which Raffaello had finished his first hall in the Vatican.

Adopting this view, even if we admit the incident, by no means proved, of a new flight of Michel Angelo, indignant at the precipitation of the pope in taking down the

¹ Vasari, *ib.*, *Lettere Pittoriche*, ii. 392

² Vasari, *ib.*

³ All this derives from two fixed points: 1st, the date of Christmas, 1512, when the second half of the painting of the ceiling of the Sistine chapel was finished, after twenty months' labour. Julius II., who died on the 21st of February, 1513, celebrated mass there the preceding Christmas. The second point is, that Michel Angelo, again in favour with the pope, after the recal of the 8th of July, 1506, did not return to Rome until 1508, after having cast and executed the bronze statue of Julius II. at Bologna. It is thus seen that the opening of the first half of the chapel could not have occurred earlier than 1511, or later than 1512

scaffoldings; if we admit further, that when Michel Angelo had departed, Bramante being, as architect, in possession of the keys of the chapel, introduced Raffaello into it; such a fact would no longer be of the slightest importance, since, shortly afterwards, the chapel was made public, all Rome, according to Vasari, hastened thither, and thus Raffaello had full leisure to see it.

This established, it is unquestionable that Raffaello and Michel Angelo worked, during the same period of time, the one in the hall *della Segnatura* in the Vatican, the other in the Sistine chapel, where he allowed no one to visit him. Thus, the four paintings of the hall of the Vatican, of which we have given an account, were executed wholly uninfluenced by the works of the Sistine chapel, the examination of which, it has been pretended, produced a sensible improvement in the manner of Raffaello.

Besides, what spectator has not seen the progress in these four paintings, considered not only in the order of their successive execution, but even in the parts of each composition; as, for example, in the figures of the one compartment of the Dispute of the Sacrament, as compared with those of the other. This is what Bellori has very judiciously pointed out in this first picture of Raffaello at Rome.

If this effect of an improvement of manner, of a gradual development of superior forms and execution, was observable in Raffaello before he visited Rome; if it were, in like manner, manifested in the four first works of the Vatican, the error of Vasari, the result of an early prejudice, would have been to refer, as due entirely to the works of Michel Angelo, that which was the effect of a faculty in Raffaello's own mind, or at least to attribute it to the opening of the Sistine chapel. But, on the other hand, those who have opposed Vasari, have committed the error either of giving to his words an extension which they do not warrant, or of attributing to him a desire to raise Michel Angelo at the expense of Raffaello. The influence of the examination of the works

¹ Bellori, *Descrizione delle Pitture*.

of a master, upon the eye and execution of another, is not a thing which one can decide or demonstrate, or obtain an admission of on the part of him who cannot or will not recognise it. It is entirely a matter of feeling.

We shall concur, therefore, with Vasari, if the point be merely the allowing that the sight of the paintings of the Sistine chapel must have produced a strong impression upon Raffaello. Who, in the present day, in passing on from the Parnassus and the Dispute of the Sacrament, to the gigantic Sibyls and Prophets of Michel Angelo, would not be struck by the *supernatural* conception, if we may so call it, and with the forms of those persons, traced without a model by a genius so original, which, having nowhere met with objects for imitation, has never yet found worthy imitators.

The controversy as to how far Raffaello was indebted to Michel Angelo, and that dispute to which the words of Vasari¹ has given rise, rests on a misunderstanding between the followers of the two schools, the Roman and the Florentine. For it is evidently a mistake to pretend, solely on the basis of an equivocal, and, upon the whole, insignificant fact, to establish a commanding superiority in Michel Angelo over Raffaello, and, as it were, a debt of the latter to the former. On the contrary, if the question were to be re-discussed, we might convert the very obligations which Raffaello may have had to Michel Angelo, into a proof of the superiority of the Urbinese, inasmuch that his rival having never added a single quality to that of a profoundly scientific designer, which he possessed in so eminent a degree, Raffaello, on the contrary, combined most of the qualities which constitute perfect painting.²

And, after all, let it be allowed that while Michel An-

¹ "By the sight of Michel Angelo's productions, he improved his manner very greatly, and gave it far more majesty."

² "LAMB. What, then, is the precise difference between Michel Angelo and Raffaello, according to your conception?"

"HAZLITT. As far as I can explain the matter, it seems to me that Michel Angelo's forms are finer, but that Raffaello's are more fraught with meaning; that the rigid outline and disposable masses in the first are more grand and imposing, but that Raffaello puts a greater proportion of sentiment into his, and calls into play every faculty of mind and

gelo, far too exclusive, has never adopted from the works of Raffaello any of the merits in which he himself was wanting, Raffaello had the right judging modesty to profit by the examples of Michel Angelo. Nature is, indeed, the true copy with which the artist should compare and confront his work. Yet the work of another may frequently afford him a useful parallel. The manner in which others see, is for him as other eyes, by the medium of which he more easily discovers his own faults. It would, therefore,

body of which his characters are susceptible with greater subtility and intensity of feeling. Dryden's lines—

‘A fiery soul that working out its way,
Fretted the pigmy body to decay,
And o'er-informed the tenement of clay,’

do not exactly answer to Raffaello's character, which is mild and thoughtful rather than fiery; nor is there any want either of grace or grandeur in his figures: but the passage describes the ‘o'er-informing’ spirit that breathes through them, and the unequal struggle of the expression to vent itself by more than ordinary physical means. Raffaello lived a much shorter time than Michel Angelo, who also lived long after him; yet there is no comparison between the number, the variety, or the finished elegance of their works. Michel Angelo possibly lost himself in the material or instrumental part of art, in embodying a technical theory, or in acquiring the grammar of different branches of study, excelling in knowledge and in gravity of pretension; whereas Raffaello gave himself up to the diviner or lovelier impulse that breathes its soul over the face of things, being governed by a sense of reality and of general truth. There is nothing exclusive or repulsive in Raffaello; he is open to all impressions alike, and seems to identify himself with whatever he saw that arrested his attention, or could interest others. Michel Angelo studied for himself, and raised objects to the standard of his conception by a *formula* or system; Raffaello invented for others, and was guided only by sympathy with them. Michel Angelo was painter, sculptor, architect; but he might be said to make of each art a shrine in which to build up the stately and gigantic stature of his own mind: Raffaello was solely a painter, but in that one art he seemed to pour out all the treasures and various excellence of nature, grandeur, and scope of design, exquisite finishing, force, grace, delicacy, the strength of man, the softness of woman, the playfulness of infancy, thought, feeling, invention, imitation, labour, ease, and every quality that can distinguish a painter except colour. Michel Angelo, in a word, stamped his own character on his works, or recast nature in a mould of his own, leaving out much that was excellent. Raffaello received his inspiration from without, and his genius caught the lambent flames of peace, of truth, and grandeur, which are reflected in his works with a light, clear, transparent, and unfading.”—Hazlitt, *ut supra*.

be an additional tribute in praise of Raffaello, that instead of borrowing from the works and paintings of Michel Angelo, he merely acquired from him the secret of a grander manner of viewing and representing things; and it does not appear that Vasari suggests anything beyond this. Now a manner, thus understood, of borrowing from another, not his style, not his ideas, not his forms or his composition, but what we may call his artistic virtue, and the direction of his talent, is what one does with fire, whence we receive its heat, without taking aught from the hearth on which it burns.

As proof of the perceptible improvement of the manner of Raffaello at this period, the pictures are cited which he successively executed of the Prophet Isaiah in the church of St. Augustin, and of the Sybils and Prophets in the church of Santa Maria della Pace.

Vasari gives us to understand that the figure of Isaiah, painted in fresco on one of the pillars in the church indicated, was substituted for another that he effaced after having seen the Sistine chapel. However this may have been, there is really in this figure, but in this figure alone among so many, something which reminds one of the style and taste of the Prophets of Michel Angelo. This is the opinion also of Luigi Crespi, son of the celebrated painter Spagnoletti.¹ "I must confess," says he, "that when I saw the prophet Isaiah, I stood amazed, and should have decidedly assigned it to Michel Angelo, from the grandeur of the style, and the daring freedom, the dash of the outlines."

We will venture to add that it also resembles Michel Angelo in a sort of unmeaningness of attitude, a want of expression in the countenance, and an absence of interest, seldom observable in Raffaello, when he is all himself, as we shall presently find him in the works of the same class in the church Della Pace. Who knows but that in this figure, his intention was, by the imitation, so evident and so easy to effect, to show that he could, as the phrase is, do Michel Angelo, if he thought fit? whatever the value of

¹ *Lettere Pittoriche*, ii. 340.

this suggestion, we prefer it to that of Comolli, who conceives that what there is of the *Michel Angelesque* in the picture was the work of Danielle da Volterra, the artist charged with repairing, as best might be, the accident which so injured the painting.¹

Still, deteriorated as it is, it retains enough of the beauties and merits peculiar to Raffaello, to warrant us in describing it as pervaded with a breadth of style truly remarkable; as full of that genuine grandeur, whose claims on our admiration are all the more legitimate that there is no ostentation about it.

"Raffaello," says Mengs, "has displayed here all the lofty elevation of the Prophets in the Sistine chapel, with this difference, that in Raffaello, the art which produces this effect is concealed, whereas in Michel Angelo it is altogether overt and undisguised." If then Raffaello contemplated in this work any resemblance of manner to that of his rival, it was still out of his own resources that he effected it. And lastly, we will observe, that at all events, it is not upon this work that the parallel between the two artists should be based.

If any one thing more than another could confirm our belief that the imitation of Michel Angelo's style and manner, which we unquestionably find in the picture of Isaiah, was a mere exception on the part of Raffaello, it is the far more important work of the Prophets and Sybils in a chapel of the church Della Pace. Vasari describes it immediately next to the preceding subject. There are different versions of the precise dates of these works;² they were certainly executed after the year 1511, but as to the date, 1519, which we find on the chapel, it can have nothing to do with the execution of the paintings.

It appears to us that the very selection of subjects

¹ In the time of Paul IV., the sacristan of the church, thinking merely to clean the picture, washed, and in a great measure spoiled it.

² Agostino Chigi, who employed Raffaello to paint these pictures, may very probably not have, for a long time after their completion, set up the inscription we read at the entrance to the sacristy, and which assigns to 1519 the dedication to the Holy Virgin of the chapel in which these Prophets and Sybils are. See Comolli, 35.

whether made wholly by Raffaello, or partly suggested to him by his protector and friend, Agostino Chigi, to whom the chapel belonged, is in itself a proof of the competition of which we have spoken, and of the time at which, according to Vasari, it took place. When we find Raffaello engaged in this work, precisely upon the same class of figures and personages which constitute the principal decoration of the Sistine chapel, may we not infer that he designed to measure his strength with Michel Angelo, upon the same ground, and to establish in a definite manner the points in which his talent differed from that of his rival?

Admitting, then, without any difficulty whatever, that the Prophets and Sybils of the church Della Pace, among the most finished works of Raffaello, manifest an improvement so decided as to indicate the highest degree of what is called his second manner, we desire, further, to regard them as having been rather intended to announce the competition of his taste with that of Michel Angelo, than any intention of imitating the latter.

There are few figures in art which bear more emphatically the character of divine inspiration, of that noble, profound, mysterious sentiment stamped upon the writings of the prophets. They who have applied themselves to a more elaborate analysis of the fine shades by which the expressions of the personages are varied, have imagined they saw in the features of each the very diversities of their genius and of their language, while on earth; and, indeed, it is the peculiarity of the works of Raffaello to appeal even still more powerfully to the inward conception than to the eye. Long since there was applied to him what Pliny said of Timanthus: *In omnibus ejus operibus intelligitur plus semper quam pingitur*.¹

Raffaello never clothed any figures with more amplitude and dignity than he has done his Prophets. If we compare with them, in this respect, the attire frequently vulgar and always strange, the overcharged attitudes, the almost universally expressionless expression of the

Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. We may very properly conclude the sentence: *Et cum ars summa sit, ingenium tamen ultra artem est.*

Prophets of Michel Angelo, we shall find nothing in them which can fairly give us the idea of anything having been borrowed from them by Raffaello. A parallel between the female figures of the one and those of the other, would still more completely remove all suspicion on this head. Michel Angelo never carried farther than he has done in his Sybils of the Sistine chapel, a sort of fantasticalness of costume and of form, the creation of a sort of beings, neither male nor female, and without any analogy in known existence. On the other hand, Raffaello has, in scarcely any of his works, presented us with conceptions more noble, more graceful, more religion-breathing than those of his Sybils. The grace, the beauty, the variety of costume, exactly correspond with the elevation of character and the high thoughts of which they are the sensible expression.

When, therefore, criticism affects to establish in this class of subjects a relation between the one painter and the other, this relation, in anything beyond the mere title or denomination of the works, must be, not a relation of resemblance, but rather a relation of absolute dissimilarity. So far from Raffaello having imitated or borrowed anything whatever from the Sybils and Prophets of Michel Angelo, it might fairly be said that, influenced by a wholly contrary inspiration, he had proposed to himself to exhibit in all the parts of his work precisely those features which were deficient in the representations of his predecessor,¹ the nobleness of form, the divinity of character, the beauty of feature, the fitness of detail.² In fact, the two geniuses whom we have so often occasion to compare, when we associate the names they immortalised, had really nothing in common between them. The germ of their respective talents was wholly different, and necessarily produced different fruits.

¹ Lanzi, p. 62.

² Bocchi, (*Bellezze della Città di Firenze*, p. 227,) relates that Agostino Chigi, having paid Raffaello 500 crowns on account, before liquidating the remainder, consulted Michel Angelo as to what he ought to pay, and Michel replied that in his opinion each head in each picture was worth 100 crowns

To be convinced of this, it is only requisite to go back to the epoch at which they were born, and to observe the defective condition in which, from the absence of any means of duly studying the human frame, the art of drawing was inevitably involved. It was by the close and arduous study of anatomy, and more especially of the muscular economy of man, that Michel Angelo opened to himself, and opened to his successors, among the various media of artistic imitation, the path which leads to the fundamental knowledge of the human form. Raffaello, having in the first instance formed the style of his drawing by the combination of the best works of his own time, perfected it by the constant study of the antique, to which, as Vasari tells us, he applied incessantly: "*ch' egli studiasse continuamente.*"

Were these two descriptions of study, in these men, the cause or the effect of the various disposition of their mind and the tendency of their taste? Whatever the reply to this question, it is certain that the one or the other study exercised a necessary influence both over the productions of each artist, and, as a consequence, over the impression which the spectator must derive from them. Michel Angelo had accustomed himself, from the outset, to view, in the study of external man, merely the material man, the mere physical composition of bones, muscles, tendons, and so on. The extreme ability which he acquired in developing the working of this mechanism, induced him to prefer those subjects which best enabled him to display his learned skill, and this more especially in painting. But anatomical knowledge, when it predominates in the artist over all other kinds of knowledge, has the disadvantageous result of tempting him to substitute the energetic expression of the corporal form for the moral expression of the internal man, for the soul, the feeling, the various affections and passions. Thus Michel Angelo, in all his paintings, seems more intent upon making his figures move (and in this he has no equal,) than in making them think. As a general proposition, there is no sensibility in his heads, no grace in his compositions, no attempt to express beauty, or even to convey to the spectator

varieties of costume, rank, age, sex, &c. In form, he knew of no other qualities than strength and energy; in features, no other expression than the severe and sombre.

The talent of Raffaello, as we have seen, was formed of a far greater variety of elements, ultimately refined and perfected by the study of the antique. Already prepared, and, from the outset earnest, to embrace the universal qualities which constitute the painter, he constantly aimed at, and progressively, from his first work to his last, elevated himself to, that moral point of view which regards the impressions of feeling as of a higher rank than those of science. Science was not his special aim, and assuredly not his sole aim. It was with him what it should ever be—the means of giving the best form to his ideas, and of expressing the character of each subject fitly and congruously. Thus, while in all his various figures and compositions, his rival seems to have but one tone, one model of character, so to speak, Raffaello varies it at his will, varies his mode, his inflexions, according to the subject of which he treats. Finally, let it not be forgotten that he exercised his pencil upon every class of composition, from the most simple to the most sublime. Biblical subjects, religious, historical, mythological, allegorical, he comprehended them all; it was he who revived among the moderns, all the inventions of the poetical world of the Greeks.

If Michel Angelo is the greatest of draughtsmen, Raffaello is the first of painters.

At about the same period with the Sybils and Prophets, Raffaello painted in the palace of Agostino Chigi, the Galatea, that composition so full of charm, and which seems inspired by the very genius of antique art. It is a work which explains, far better than any language of ours, the diversity between Michel Angelo and Raffaello, manifesting the exquisite refinement of the latter, and his tendency towards that pure, noble, graceful manner, which constituted the beau-ideal of the ancient Greeks. An extract from his own letter to Baldassare Castiglione will dispense us, however, from making any conjectural remarks on this point:—

"With regard to the Galatea, I should consider myself a great master, if it possessed but half the merits of which your lordship speaks in your letter. But I attribute your praises to the love you bear me. To paint a beautiful woman, I need to have numerous models before me, and your lordship at hand to aid me with your judgment; but having here so few beautiful models, and such a scarcity of good judges, I work upon a certain idea that presents itself to my mind. Whether this idea has any artistic excellence, I know not; but I do my best to attain it." These few words show us plainly enough that Raffaello had really set before him the search of that beautiful which can only be attained, indeed, by the aid of infinite comparison, by the adoption of what nature presents to art; but which also requires the effort of the artist's imagination, to create for itself a type of perfection fitted to direct his taste in the execution of his work.

We shall assign to this epoch, and we ought, indeed, to have mentioned it before, the Vision of Ezekiel.¹ Vasari is wholly mistaken as to the date of this work, which he places after the *St. Cecilia*, certainly painted in 1513,² and he misconceives, also, the subject of the composition, which he takes to be Christ, after the fashion of Jupiter in the clouds, with the four Evangelists.

Raffaello has taken his subject from Chapter I. of the Prophet, where we find described the miraculous assemblage of the four winged figures, symbols of the Evangelists, under the received forms of an angel, a lion, a bull, and an eagle. The Prophet himself is seen transported far from the earth, above the clouds, by two angels. Here is manifested to him the revelation which he has to make known to the world below. It is not surprising that the idea of a Jupiter presented itself to the mind, or rather to

¹ Now in London.

² Malvazia, *Felsina Pittrice*, i. 44, quotes an authenticated document, found among the papers of count Francesco Ercolani, of Bologna, for whom this picture was executed, and which sets forth the payment in respect of it, of eight golden ducats. The memorandum is dated 1510. The work, indeed, may not have been completed until a later period, and the eight ducats was probably only a payment in advance.

the memory of Vasari, as he wrote his account of this admirable conception. The grandeur of the Prophet's attitude, the dignity of his bearing, the contemplative expression of his countenance, all indicate how sublimely marvellous is the spectacle offered to his view, and how fixedly it engages his attention and his every thought. All before us partakes of the mysterious influence of the scene by us unseen; the symbolical animals themselves, in the grandeur of their expression, sharing in the sublime effect.

This small picture, the numerous copies of which dispersed over Europe render it difficult, at the present time, to decide exactly as to which is the original work, was purchased in the seventeenth century by Nicolas Poussin, and transmitted to France. It was as a companion piece to it that he painted his St. Paul, a picture of the same dimensions.

Raffaello had now attained such a position, established as he was at Rome with several pupils, and with the talents of more than one friend at his disposal, that he could undertake and carry on at the same time works of a very various character. His custom of making cartoons, distinct designs on paper, even for his oil paintings, facilitated the division of labour among those whom he employed. Hence it resulted, that being able to complete more than one work at about the same time, the same date may equally belong to several. It accordingly becomes necessary to arrange somewhat arbitrarily the successive order in which the writer is compelled to describe the works of the artist, placing before or after one another, productions which may all have been executed together, that is, within the same given space of time.

It appears tolerably certain that it is to the period between 1511 and 1513 that we must refer the large and beautiful oil picture of the Virgin, called the *Madona del Foligno*, painted by Raffaello for Sigismond Conti, private secretary to pope Julius II. There is in this work alone, well known itself, and still more generally so in the fine engraving by Desnoyers, quite sufficient to demonstrate, by its varieties of style and character, that which we

advanced above—namely, that Raffaello had the faculty of touching all chords alike, of going through the whole gamut of the imitative scale.

Would you seek in art an example of truth, of resemblance, or of portrait, without the slightest dryness or pettiness of detail, brought to a perfection which seems to challenge nature—look at the attitude, the face, the hands of Sigismond Conti, whose portrait is introduced here. Compared with it, the style of Holbein, with all its pretensions to copy exactly the original before him, would seem colder, harder, and less true. We cannot more highly commend the St. John Baptist, than in the words of Vasari:—"We recognise him by his attenuated frame, the result of penitence and long fasting; his countenance, the mirror of his soul, announces that frankness and abruptness of manners usual with those who flee the world, and who, if ever they appear in it, manifest themselves the enemies of all dissimulation."¹ This is what Pliny calls *pingere mores*, an expression, the literal translation of which does not adequately represent its meaning, which should be construed—to *paint the moral of each subject*.

This was eminently the merit of Raffaello. It is with the same character of natural truth and fidelity to the costume and traditional peculiarities of each, that he has represented St. Francis and St. Jerom in this picture. His intention was probably, by the contrast with them, to give greater effect to the ideal charm and celestial beauty of the Virgin with the Infant Jesus, who, borne on clouds, concentrates the regards of the other personages, the object at once of their homage and their prayers. Nothing could be better expressed by the medium of art, than is, in this picture, that line of ideal difference which separates to the eye the image of mortal personages from the idea of supernatural beings.

In the centre of the picture, under the group of the Virgin, is a young boy, standing with his head and gaze turned towards the Madona. We cannot too highly admire this child's beauty and grace of feature. He holds

¹ Vasari, p. 184.

in his hand a scroll, on which the artist wrote, or intended to write, some inscription; but there are no traces of any writing left at present. This work, among all the master's, is considered one of the most vigorous in colouring and general execution, and also one of the best preserved.¹

The pictures of Raffaello in the state apartments of the Vatican, were executed at intervals. The written testimony presented in scrolls by each, and the subjects themselves, wherein we find portraits of Julius II. and of Leo X., prove that the three compartments on which Raffaello himself worked took nine years to complete.

Fresco painting necessarily consists of two distinct operations, which may succeed each other at intervals. The artist in fresco paints, as it were, his subject twice over; first, in a cartoon, completed, shaded, and sometimes coloured, of the exact size of the picture which is to be its copy. The execution of the painting being thus separately effected, the artist may interrupt and resume the progress of the first portion of his operations at will. The second portion once commenced, must, however, be completed without interruption.

The works which we have given an account of may thus have been executed by Raffaello while he was preparing the cartoons of the second hall of the Vatican, that is to say, in the space comprehending the years 1510-11, and the year 1512, whose date we find in the recess of the window surrounded by the picture of the Miracle of Bolsena, in which is the portrait of Julius II. As this pontiff appears in two of the pictures of this hall, and the two others relate to the history of pope Leo X., we may consider that the former were executed before the 21st of February, 1513, the day of Julius' death; but we are very certain that the two latter were not begun before

¹ This painting is also known under the title of *La Vierge au Donataire*, because St. Francis, St. John the Baptist, and St. Jerom are represented presenting a benefactor to the Virgin. It was in the first instance hung in the church of Ara Celi at Rome. In 1565, Anna Conti, niece of Sigismond, transferred it to the church of Santa Anna, at Foligno. The events of the French revolution took it to Paris, whence it returned to Rome, where it now adorns the picture gallery at the Vatican.

the exaltation of Leo X., which took place on the 11th March, 1513. Thus, the Miracle of Bolsena and the Heliodorus preceded the Attila and the Peter Released from Prison.

Raffaello had begun in the Vatican with a selection of subjects derived from a class of things or ideas, conventional, symbolical, or allegorical, equally adapted as paintings to all times and places. This tranquil sort of composition was at that time perfectly in harmony with the nature and resources of his talent. It is not known whether he himself chose his own subjects, or whether they were suggested to him by some of the illustrious scholars of that period; at all events, he must have owed much of the filling up to the information of those more versed than himself in the archæiological and mythological knowledge necessary for the design of such compositions.

The subjects we now approach, from those in the apartment immediately about to be noticed, to the compositions in the Hall of Constantine, which was not completed until after the death of Raffaello, exhibit an entirely new class of historical pictures, founded upon the events, at various epochs, of profane or religious history in general, but adapted by a special genius for allusion, now to particular events in the annals of the church of Rome illustrating the power of the popes; or, again, to recent circumstances, skilfully set forth under the aspect of long anterior events, enabling the painter to introduce, in the guise of ancient pontiffs, the portraits of the popes his patrons.

Thus, in the subject called the Miracle of Bolsena, Raffaello has, in the representation of a circumstance referred to the year 1264, under the pontificate of Urban IV., alluded to the new heresies which in his time began to agitate the church as to the mystery of the real presence. This transposition has enabled him to give the portrait of Julius II. in the pope present at the mass and regarding the unbelieving priest who, with an amazed confusion, has his incredulity removed by the miracle of the host staining with blood the cloth of the communion table.

This composition presents us with several master-strokes. The first is the ingenious address with which Raffaello

managed to adapt the scene of his subject to a ground divided into three parts by the window. He here again, of what was in itself an obstacle, created not only a charm, but, it may be said, so entire a fitness, that one would suppose, not that the painting was adapted to the requirements of its space, but that the space conformed itself to the arrangement desired by the painter, to aid him in producing the happy picturesque and decorative effects we there admire.

If we next turn to the moral effect of the composition, Raffaello seems to us never more happily (in what may be called the *pantomime* of a subject) to have connected with the principal object of the scene, the varied groups of his personages. It would be impossible more skilfully to combine in the unity of a common effect, spectators separated by the divisions of the ground, as well as by the diversities of their character. Nothing can be more admirable than the contrasts exhibited between the feelings of astonishment, of anxious curiosity on the part of the spectators, or of the women moved by the miracle, and the rude apathy of the pontifical grooms kneeling at the foot of the stairs, and the holy gravity of the pontiff, as well as of his train of cardinals, in whom firm faith precludes all astonishment at the miracle.

The painting of the Miracle of Bolsena¹ is another of those pictures where we find Raffaello to have approached nearest that point which may be regarded as the perfection of the alliance of colouring with drawing. We recognise there a sensible approximation to the colouring of the Venetian school. It is universally admitted, indeed,

¹ "In the Miracle of Bolsena is that group of children, round-faced, smiling, with large orb'd eyes, like infancy nestling in the arms of affection; the studied elegance of the choir of tender novices, with all their sense of the godliness of their function, and the beauty of holiness, and the hard, liny individual portraits of priests and cardinals, on the right hand, which have the same life, spirit, boldness, and marked character, as if you could have looked in upon the assembled conclave. Neither painting nor popery ever produced anything finer. There is the utmost hardness and materiality of outline, with a spirit of fire. — HAZLITT, *ut. sup.*

that many of the heads in this composition would bear a comparison with those of Titian.¹

The painting of Heliodorus must have immediately followed that of the Miracle of Bolsena.

Raffaello has here attained the highest point of what is called the art of composition—that is to say, of that art which becomes the instrument of the greatest combinations of genius. We may also affirm that if he has the advantage of having been the first to open this path, he has also kept at the head of those who have followed it. As we have already observed, painting, before him, aspired only to render or reproduce the portrait of persons and the representation of actions, such as the contemporary state of society exhibited them. A composition, with very few exceptions, was merely a kind of mirror, reflecting, without art, and often without any sort of perspective whatever, the common customs of the time, and the forms of religious or civil ceremonies.

A composition such as the Heliodorus was, therefore, when it appeared, a work quite without precedent: let us add, that it has as yet remained without an equal. What can be placed in competition with the genius of Raffaello in such imposing subjects, in conceptions at once as animated, as fertile in idea, as rich in action, movement, and expression? Not but that great geniuses have since arisen in this class of painting, in which the gift of invention has the largest share. But that in which the compositions of Raffaello are superior to those of all the other painters is, that nothing in them gives you an idea of what is technically called (in artistic criticism) making up, laboured preparation, studied pains, or pretension. Others, doubtless, have grouped their figures with much art, but one would wish it less evident. With Raffaello, studied art nowhere shows itself. (*L'arte che tutto fa nulla se vede.*) The figures of each scene are in the

¹ We read that Andrea Sacchi, returning from a journey to Venice and Lombardy, seeing the pictures of Attila, and the miracle of Bolsena in the Vatican, exclaimed, "I have seen Titian, Correggio, and Raffaello's Attila and the Miracle of Bolsena; they are the finest works of this painter." (See *Compendio della Vita di Raffaello precedente la Scuola Romana.*)

action without appearing actors; there is always, in the invisible link which connects them, a reason which persuades us that they could not be otherwise; each has such a necessity to be precisely where it is, that it stands there without appearing to have been placed there.

Thus, that which is most remarkable in such conceptions, is precisely what it is impossible to describe.

Let us content ourselves, therefore, with pointing out, in the first place, in the picture of Heliodorus, that ingenious allusion of which we have spoken, by means of which the painter conveys to the spectator, by identifying it, as it were, with an event in Bible history, the result of the political operations of the reign of Julius II.

Raffaello desiring to represent this warlike pontiff and prince, punishing the despoilers of the church, and forcing them to make restitution, shows us the high-priest of the Jews, Onias, imploring in the Sanctuary the Divine vengeance upon the plunderer, Heliodorus, sent by Antiochus. This is what we see in the background of the picture, and this is the grand idea of the painter. Without this visual point of the high-priest praying, the rest of the scene would either be unmeaning, or would be deficient in that character of the marvellous in which lies its greatest interest. The cavalier, the two young men assaulting the prostrate enemy, would no longer appear the agents of a Divine power.

Next let us observe with what art, whenever his art appears, all the foreground of the middle composition is left vacant; this vacancy which really divides it, is precisely the link of its moral and graphic unity. At the same time that it serves to direct the attention of the spectator upon the high-priest; we see further, that it is one of the conditions of the subject, the vacant space being that over which the ministers of vengeance have just passed. This is also the reason for the crowding of the by-standers into the part of the picture opposite that occupied by Heliodorus; alarm has necessarily hurried them thither. Hence that interesting contrast of the expressions of fear, curiosity, and astonishment, on the

one side, opposed on the other to the sorrow, violence, and rage of Heliodorus and his satellites.

We know that the group of pope Julius II., on the *sella gestatoria*, is merely a conventional appendage, which the spectator is not supposed to take into his immediate consideration. It seems on the part of Raffaello, a homage paid to the august protector of his talent; but we also recognise in it the key to the system of allusion we have spoken of. The true Julius II., in this system, is Onias, and Heliodorus represents the barons of the church overthrown and despoiled.¹

¹ There is a letter by Raffaello, written while engaged upon these works, to his friend Francesco Raibolini, called Francia, which we may introduce here, as a proof that with him great public patronage did not militate against the continuance of private friendship :

"Dear Messer Francesco,—I have just received your portrait brought to me by Bazzotto, in excellent condition, and without any damage whatever. I thank you most heartily for it. It is most beautiful, and so full of life, that I sometimes deceive myself, and think you yourself are with me, and that I hear you speak. I entreat your indulgent excuse that I have so long delayed sending you my own, which from continuous and most important occupations, I have not as yet been able to finish with my own hands, as I promised you I would do. I might, indeed, have sent you one, done by a pupil, and retouched by myself, but this would have been most wrong; though, let who may paint it, the result will not equal the merit of your work. Excuse me, therefore, you who know from frequent experience, what it is to live deprived of one's liberty, and at the command of patrons, who, when they need you not, lay you aside. Meantime, I send you, by Bazzotto, who tells me he will return in a week, another drawing of the *Presepio*, very different, as you will perceive, from the one completed, and which you were pleased to commend so highly, as, indeed, you do with respect to all my works, covering me with blushes. I am ashamed of the trifle I send you, but you will value it more as a token of love and respect than for any other reason. If, in return, you give me a drawing of your Judith, I shall place it among my dearest and most precious treasures.

"Monsignor the Datary, is anxiously expecting his little Madona, and Cardinal Riario his large one, as you will hear from Bazzotto. I also shall view them with that satisfaction and enjoyment, which all your previous productions have given me—productions which no artist has surpassed in beauty, and in the expression of devotional feeling. Farewell, be of good courage, pursue the wise course you have hitherto adhered to, and be assured that I sympathize with you in all things as with myself. Continue to love me as I love you.

"Ever obliged by serving you,

"RAFFAELLO SANZIO."

Rome, 5th Sept. 1508.

Julius II. died on the 21st of February, 1513, and on the 11th of March following, cardinal Giovanni di Medici succeeded him, under the title of Leo X. It will be readily imagined that Raffaello lost nothing by this change; if there was any change for him, it was an increase of favour, confidence, and employment.

The works at the Vatican experienced but a brief interruption, doubtless occasioned by the interregnum which took place. Probably also the choice of the new pontiff involved some change in the plan of the two paintings which were to complete the decoration of the hall, the description of which we have interrupted. The two subjects which remain to be spoken of were probably finished in the following year, as seems to be indicated by the inscription on the window, under the painting of Saint Peter delivered from Prison, **LEO X. PONT. MAX. ANN. CHR. MDXIV. PONTIFICATUS SUI II.**

The painting of St. Peter delivered from Prison, according to all appearance, preceded that of Attila. This priority, as it seems to us, necessarily resulted from the nature of the circumstances to which it is certain that, in pursuance of the metaphorical or allusive system of which we have spoken, the subject we are about to describe relates.

It was impossible for Raffaello to imagine anything at once more gratifying and more honourable to the new successor of St. Peter, than to recal the circumstance of his history which constituted a resemblance between him and the prince of apostles. Leo X., defending, as cardinal legate, the interests of the holy see under Julius II., had been made prisoner after the battle of Ravenna, in 1512; and his deliverance, which Egidio di Viterbo regards as miraculous, took place exactly twelve months to a day before his elevation to the pontifical see,¹ and it was this which inspired the choice of the subject of the Miraculous deliverance of St. Peter from prison.

This painting, placed opposite the Miracle of Bolsena,

¹ Bogue's, "European Library;" Roscoe, *Life of Leo X.*, vol. i. 205.

² Bellori, *Descriz delle Pitture*, p. 82, et seq. Lauzi, vol. ii. p. 43.

and occupying, in like manner, the space above and around a window, doubtlessly also owes to its situation the same pyramidical arrangement into rising compartments, which, on either side, receive the different scenes separated by the embrasure of the window. We have admired, in the *Miracle of Bolsena*, how the different groups of figures, despite the division of their localities, contribute to produce the unity of subject, by the manner in which each, according to its position, takes part in it. The painting of *St. Peter delivered from Prison*, on the contrary, presents the subject divided into three periods, and, we may say, into three pictures.

It is certain that it offers not the distinct parts of a simultaneous action, but rather an action multiplied and divided into several periods and successive acts. The middle scene shows us, through an iron grating, *St. Peter* sleeping, visited in his prison by an angel who has come to break his chains. The second period is the leaving the prison. The apostle is preceded by the shining angel, who serves him as a guide and a light amidst the sleeping guards. On the opposite side are other groups of soldiers: one of them, by the light of a torch, rouses his companions, and gives the alarm.

Critics have blamed *Raffaello* for this transgression of the limits of painting—a transgression so common in the polygraph pictures of the first ages of the art among all nations. We shall not here pretend to justify it, but more fully observe that certainly this irregularity was not, on the part of *Raffaello*, the result of ignorance; for no one was ever more faithful than he to the principle of the unity of action and of place. If it be not admitted as a probable reminiscence of the subject by *Masaccio*, let us allow that he may have found not only an excuse, but a necessity for adopting this plan, in the actual division into three grounds, which the aperture of the window presented to the three periods of his subject.

For the rest, this work may be regarded as a novelty in art at this epoch; and further, as a proof of the ambition of *Raffaello* to embrace the universal domain of painting.

It is certain that no one before him had thought of

viewing the art of painting in relation to the effects and contrasts of light and shade. Raffaello, here describing a night scene, found in the different periods of his subject, and in the divisions of space which separated it, the means of producing the illusion of three kinds or three effects of light: that of the shining angel, that of the moon, and that of the torch. Every one knows that the magic of such effects in pictures is that which least resists the assaults of time, and time, doubtless, has considerably weakened the perfection of the tints and colours of this work; but it owes also to the position which it occupies facing the light, something which favours the illusion. Let the imagination aid, in ever so small a degree, in giving back a portion of what the picture has lost, and it will be admitted that, with the exception of certain artists who made a special study of the play and effects of light and shade, few historical painters could contest in this the pre-eminence of Raffaello. But the composition of Attila gave him an opportunity to develop other kinds of superiority.

Italy, since the invasion of Charles VIII. (1494), had become a kind of prey, for which the French, the Germans, and the Spaniards disputed in every direction. It had been the aim of Julius II., by destroying each party by the other, to free Italy from the foreigner. Leo X., as cardinal, had seconded his views. When he ascended the papal chair, events enabled him to enjoy, at least for a time, the success of his previous labours.¹ His skill in the art of negotiating was then universally admired, and he had the reputation of having accomplished the complete evacuation of Italy by the foreign foe.

It cannot be doubted that the subject of Attila, checked by a power on high, and yielding to the exhortations of Saint Leo, would appear peculiarly favourable to the flattering application which circumstances allowed to be made to the policy of Leo X. All the belligerent nations having yielded to the influence of the new pontiff, peace would probably have been lasting had not the death of

¹ Bogue's *European Library*; Roscoe's *Life of Leo X.*, vol. i. chap. x.

Louis XII. disturbed the new position of things. This state lasted for two years, up to 1515, when Francis I. again entered Italy. This was evidently adequate ground for the sort of allegorical occasional picture now painted—the Attila.

Of all the conceptions of Raffaello, this, perhaps, most brilliantly displays, in combination with resources of his own peculiar genius, those of a talent not merely unprecedented but utterly unknown before his time. We refer to the art by means of which he has managed to render clear and intelligible to the eye a subject manifold in its parts, and the action of which, complex in its causes and from its effects, would seem necessarily to involve, for the eye, a manifest contradiction. Yet, three different circumstances of the same action, or if you will, three moments, and consequently three movements, which language would bring in succession before the mind, were here to be rendered sensible to the eye, in a species of imitation which could not be successive, since, confined to a single and narrow space, it presents itself to the vision at once.

We cannot but admire how the triple circumstance of the rapid march of the army of Attila, its sudden halt, and its precipitate retreat, is brought into the unity of one aspect, by the agency of the appearance of the celestial power, which produces and explains the disorder with which the spectator is struck.

We see on one side the countless army of barbarians passing a gorge of the mountains on to the plain of Rome. It seems to pour down, like a torrent threatening universal destruction. But what is the awful object which suddenly arrests its course? What formidable warrior strikes terror into that barbarian chief, mounted on a mighty courser, and makes him draw back? We see nothing coming to meet him but the modest and peaceful retinue of pope Saint Leo,¹ who has no weapon but the cross. Even so; but Attila sees above the pontifical train the two

¹ Represented under the portrait of Leo X. We recognise also in the train of the pope the portraits of several contemporary personages; that of Raffaello beside that of Perugino

princes of the apostles, Peter and Paul, hovering in the air, and who say to him: *Thou shalt go no further*. He is struck with a terror, the cause of which is known only to himself, but the sympathetic effect of which spreads and communicates itself to the soldiers. It is an irresistible effect, as that of a repellent action which, like a contrary wind, turns back and agitates the banners in signal of retreat. All are about to retrace their steps: the trumpeters have already turned their backs; the agitated army looks like a vast sea, driven about by contrary currents; the entire army yields to the retrograde movement. Nothing can be more remarkable than this contradiction between the general impulsion of the mass, and the repulsion experienced by each individual member of it.¹

There are none of the paintings constituting the Loggie of Raffaello in the Vatican, which does not in this way seem one of a series of so many distinct poems. Such is the poetical genius in each, that the imagination is constrained to fix itself, first of all, upon the imaginative or sentimental portion of the picture. It seems, in fact, as though the praise of mere mechanical merits, whether of design or colour, costume and arrangement, would be altogether beneath the dignity of works which thus powerfully address themselves to the intellect by grandeur of thought, to the soul by energy of expression.

After such conceptions, it may also appear over minute to speak of the four subjects in colours, mingled with the decorations in black and white of the ceiling of this hall, each surmounting one of the great pictures we have just described.

¹ "There is a figure of a man leading a horse in the *Attila* which I think peculiarly characteristic. It is an ordinary face and figure, in a somewhat awkward dress, but he seems as if he had literally walked into the picture at that instant; he is looking forward with a mixture of earnestness and curiosity, as if the scene were passing before him, and every part of his figure and dress is flexible and in motion, pliant to the painter's plastic touch; this figure, so unconstrained and free, animated, salient, put me in mind, compared with the usual stiffness and shackles of the art, of the chain armour used by the knights of old, instead of coats of mail."—HAZLITT, *ut sup.*

These subjects, which represent *Jacob's Dream*, *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, *The Burning Bush*, and *The Descent from the Ark*, have, in reality, no relation of idea or aim with the great pictures described.¹ They, indeed, only appear there under the vague relation of decoration, or decorative details; in the same manner that we shall see, in the arabesque compositions of the *Loggie*, an infinite number of insignificant subjects which the decorator has introduced into the compartments of his main work. But nothing is overlooked which was honoured by the taste of Raffaello. The smallest compositions deserve notice. They may be compared to the detached thoughts of great writers, sparks always precious, whether as indications of the brightness of the fire whence they sprang, or as having the property of themselves becoming new fires.²

¹ These subjects are painted to represent tapestries attached to the roof. There are similar works there in clair-obscur, executed by painters anterior to Raffaello, and which he allowed to remain.

² "It has frequently happened," says sir Joshua Reynolds, "as I was informed by the keeper of the Vatican, that many of those whom he had conducted through the various apartments of that edifice, when about to be dismissed, have asked for the works of Raffaello, and would not believe that they had already passed through the rooms where they are preserved; so little impression had those performances made on them. One of the first painters now in France once told me that this circumstance happened to himself; though he now looks on Raffaello with that veneration which he deserves from all painters and lovers of the art. I remember very well my own disappointment when I first visited the Vatican; but on confessing my feelings to a brother student, of whose ingenuousness I had a high opinion, he acknowledged that the works of Raffaello had the same effect on him; or, rather, that they did not produce the effect which he expected. This was a great relief to my mind, and on inquiring further of other students, I found that those persons only, who from natural imbecility appear to be incapable of ever relishing those divine performances, made pretensions to instantaneous raptures at first beholding them. In justice to myself, however, I must add, that though disappointed and mortified at not finding myself enraptured with the works of this great master, I did not for a moment conceive or suppose that the name of Raffaello, and those admirable paintings in particular, owed their reputation to the ignorance and prejudice of mankind; on the contrary, my not relishing them, as I was conscious I ought to have done, was one of the most humiliating circumstances that ever happened to me. I found myself in the midst of works executed upon principles with which I was unacquainted: I felt

Raffaello had completed but half the works of his second hall in the Vatican, when he lost Bramante, who had introduced him to the pontifical court. But for a long time past he had needed no other support than that of his genius and his fame.

Leo X. had not delayed to show him that princes, on their part, need the favour of men of genius. Raffaello was received at the court of the pope less as a protégé than as a friend. The proofs he had given of his talents and of a capacity embracing every class of art, had already signalized him as the universal artist, as the man destined to become the centre and source of every undertaking. His reputation had assembled round him a host of pupils or fellow artists. This will explain how the twelve years

my ignorance, and stood abashed. All the indigested notions of painting which I had brought with me from England, where the art was in the lowest state it had ever been in, (it could not, indeed, be lower,) were to be totally done away and eradicated from my mind. It was necessary, as it is expressed on a very solemn occasion, that I should become as a little child. Notwithstanding my disappointment, I proceeded to copy some of those excellent works. I viewed them again and again; I even affected to feel their merit, and to admire them more than I really did. In a short time a new taste and new perceptions began to dawn upon me; and I was convinced that I had originally formed a false opinion of the perfection of art, and that this great painter was well entitled to the high rank which he holds in the estimation of the world. The truth is, that if these works had really been what I expected, they would have contained beauties superficial and alluring, but by no means such as would have entitled them to the great reputation which they have so long and so justly obtained.

"Having since that period frequently revolved this subject in my mind, I am now clearly of opinion that a relish for the higher excellencies of art is an acquired taste which no man ever possessed without long cultivation, and great labour and attention. On such occasions as that which I have mentioned, we are often ashamed of our apparent dulness; as if it were to be expected that our minds, like tinder, should instantly catch fire from the divine spark of Raffaello's genius. I flatter myself that now it would be so, and that I have a just and lively perception of his great powers: but let it be always remembered, that the excellence of his style is not on the surface, but lies deep, and at the first view is seen but mistily. It is the florid style which strikes at once and captivates the eye for a time, without ever satisfying the judgment. Nor does painting in this respect differ from other arts. A just poetical taste, and the acquisition of a nice discriminative musical ear are equally the work of time."—*Works, by Malone*, vol. i.

he passed at Rome, and which were the last years of his life, sufficed for the undertaking and accomplishment of that immense number of works which bear his name, and in which no one can fail to recognise first the entire and direct influence of his genius, and secondly, a more or less personal and active share in their execution.

It is with such assistance that we are about to see Raffaello enter upon new careers, and reproduce fresh branches of antique art. Charged, as the successor of Bramante, who had scarcely laid the foundations of the arcades of the great court of the Vatican, (the *Cortile delle Loggie*,) to complete their erection, he carried them up to three stages or rows of galleries, one above another. We shall in due course exhibit Raffaello's talent for architecture: for the present, it will suffice to repeat that he had certainly studied the outlines of this art under Perugino, as is proved by the design of the beautiful circular temple with columns, in the picture of the Spozalizio. Subsequently, the fine background of the School of Athens announced that he would not be content with merely drawing architecture; and ere long, after his own model in wood,¹ arose that court of the Vatican, the galleries of which, with their noble porticos and columns, and which in Italy are called *loggie*, were destined by him to receive a new kind of embellishment. We say new, only with reference to modern times; for this method of decoration, to which the name of *grotesque* or *arabesque* has been given, was in fact a revival from antiquity.

This is not the place to inquire in what degree this style was a new acquisition. The taste for ornament, if we generalize the idea of it, belongs to an universal instinct, which cannot be strictly estimated in its elements and in its results, without arriving, in the end of the inquiry, at the idea of caprice. Yet caprice itself may be subjected to more than one degree of criticism, according as it proceeds from an ignorant routine, or from the inspirations of a taste cultivated by that study which can check or regulate the flights of the imagination.

¹ Vasari, p. 201

Doubtless we may find throughout the whole order of ancient arabesque, especially in the Arabian or Gothic, points of comparison which are only corruptions of forms or ideas originally belonging to the works of the Lower Empire, and of the decline both at Constantinople and in Italy. The two centuries which preceded that of Raffaello had already revived, more especially in works of sculpture, more than one ornament—composition, for which the remains of ancient decorated edifices supplied various suggestions. But the search for and study of ancient ruins were necessary to put the decorator in the right path to a manner of ornamenting, the taste for which had disappeared with that of the other branches of imitation.

Already *Morto da Feltro*, an assiduous investigator of the decorative remains hidden and buried around Rome and Naples,¹ in the numerous tombs which, if we may use the expression, were preserved by their own ruins, had exerted himself to revive the taste for what have been denominated *grottesche*, because the models were found in grottos. But to acquire, in modern imitation, the value and peculiar charm which were requisite, this class of art demanded far more numerous resources in the operator than *da Feltro* possessed. It consists of so many various objects of imitation, so many parts of various work, that, if its peculiar merit be in the elegant execution of each, its general success depends still more upon the happy combination of all.

At the time Raffaello was charged with the architecture and decoration of the Loggie of the Vatican, the interior of the Baths of Titus had just been discovered. It cannot be doubted but that the ornamental paintings with which all the halls of this vast edifice were covered, inspired him with the idea of applying the style to the galleries, which he very possibly planned with this view, in the court of the Vatican, the disposition of which is most favourable to it. Each arcade forming, in the continuous series of the porticos, a small ceiling of its own, presents numerous spaces for arabesque.

¹ Vasari, iv. p. 128.

The halls of the Baths of Titus, long buried, owed the entire preservation of their paintings, when discovered, to the very cause which had created their oblivion; they were in all their original freshness and splendour, of a brilliancy of which the external air and various accidents have since deprived them. Raffaello seized the opportunity to reproduce, with more effect than any of his predecessors, the elegant details of antique forms, and the melange of colours, stucco and ingenious trifles, without falling into the extravagance into which the independence of an imitation without the limits fixed by a positive model may so easily lead. In truth, he adopted, not actually the ornaments of the Baths of Titus, as some have asserted, but merely the spirit and gust in which their chief merit consists.¹

According to one tradition, he copied and afterwards destroyed some portions of these ornaments, in order to claim the invention of them; but this allegation is fully contradicted by the comparison we are in a position to make of all the paintings of the Baths of Titus, engraved by Carletti, with the beautiful engravings by Valpoto of Raffaello's productions in the Loggie. It would be hardly possible to point out in them a single idea of any importance taken by the latter from the former. Grant even that some portions of the ornaments or small figures in bas-relief, in stucco, were copied or moulded, or even detached and carried away by Giovanni da Udine, the chief assistant of Raffaello in this vast undertaking, the fact would scarcely merit observation.

Giovanni da Udine excelled in painting flowers, fruits, and ornaments of all kinds. Having for a long time devoted himself to this class of painting, he was employed by Raffaello to execute the subordinate parts of his pictures, such, for example, as the musical instruments in the picture of Saint Cecilia. It was he, more especially, who, visiting the Baths of Titus with his master, encouraged

¹ This has been clearly demonstrated by Carletti, on the authority of contemporaneous writers, and is confirmed by a comparison between the two works.—See *Le Antiche Camere delle Terme di Tito, incise dipinte, descritte da Giuseppe Carletti*, Roma, 1776.

him in the plan of imitating them in the decoration of the Loggie. In order to give complete success to this idea, it was necessary to discover the secret of the ancient stucco, that is to say, of the substance used by the ancients in forming and multiplying the sculptured ornaments and small figures in bas-relief, which are intermingled with the paintings and ornamental foliage. Giovanni da Udine before long discovered the process, and effected this object, doubtless, by decomposing some fragments of ornaments or figures detached by him from their places, for that purpose. This, apparently, is what may have given rise to the tradition referred to.

Arabesque, though the name is modern, is undoubtedly the same description of ornament as that which, anciently composed of a mixture of the most various details, charmed for a time the eyes of the Romans, and underwent the censure of Vitruvius. As an architect, and only regarding the employment of ornament with a view to the essential, to a clear analogy with the gravity and positive requirements of architecture, Vitruvius was right; as a decorator, called upon to comprehend all the parts which, in this class of art, soar beyond the exact limits of a severe theory, Vitruvius is, in the eyes of taste, *too* correct. It is a common mistake with those who see things from but one point of view, and, having but one standard of excellence, seek to subject to the same critical rules the gravest productions and the airiest and lightest creations of the fine arts.

There is, doubtless, in what is called ornament and its use, arbitrary as it may appear, a part of reason, of probability, of fitness, and of relative harmony, which must be allowed for in a criticism more or less severe. But there is another department of this art, the light and playful daughter of the imagination, which acknowledges no judge but taste, no rule but the expediencies of a sentiment superior to all definition. Yet, what proves that such rules are also based upon something less arbitrary than the caprice of chance, is that, since Raffaello, many decorators have employed themselves upon arabesque, without having been able, like him, to obtain

the indulgence of people of reason, and the suffrage of people of taste. This is because most have wholly misconceived the matter, a thing practicable enough in such a case: because certain amiable frivolities have sometimes had the effect of pleasing the world, they have concluded that they could always be sure of pleasing in producing nothing but frivolities.

Raffaello had two great merits in this respect, merits attributable to him alone; for although he was not, in reality, the sole and immediate author of all the arabesque compositions of the Loggie, it must be allowed that the work as a whole is due to the influence of his mind and the direction of his taste.

His first merit was of that sort, of which we do not clearly see the influence until it has ceased to act; I mean that moral influence of taste, which co-ordinates all the parts, selects the most happy details, corrects the abuse of an arbitrary vanity, by the unity of a general system, and applies to the separate execution of each species of object the species of talent suited to it.

But the second merit of Raffaello, in many of these compositions, was incontestably that of an entirely new kind of originality. Several of his arabesque columns prove to us that he was the first who thought of introducing into this class of decorative art an order of conceptions and ideas, the model of which we do not see that he anywhere found in the works of antiquity.

It is by the happy employment of allegory that he often found means to render interesting to the mind decorations which would seem only destined to appeal to the eyes. Nothing can be more ingenious than the manner in which he gave life to a sort of dead language, composed of signs, unmeaning, both in themselves and in their relations, when chance alone decides the subject which brings them together. The apparent fantasticalness of their forms, Raffaello corrected by the introduction of a moral idea, which served as a palliative or commentary; we experience, in the meaning we there discover, a new kind of pleasure, that of encountering and recognising reason under the mask of frivolity. If the ancients had devised

grotesque upon this system, they might have compared it with those burlesque figures of Silenus, made of hollow wood, the sight of which, according to Plato,¹ excited laughter; but which, by a singular contrast, contained within them images of the gods.

Look at those arabesques of Raffaello, rising in compartments one above the other, where now the virtues, now the seasons, now the ages of life, mingle their various emblems by the learned fancies of his pencil. Here we see the symbols of the senses, or of the elements; there the instruments of the arts and sciences; elsewhere every description of personified ideas become veritable symbolical pictures, the creation of which could only belong to the genius of an historical painter.

Such, for example, is the beautiful pilaster or arabesque column of the Seasons.

At the summit is represented Spring, under the emblem of two lovers reposing upon flowers, and embracing in the midst of myrtles. Summer is represented below, by the goddess of plenty, crowned with ears of corn, and surrounded by fruits and children. A vine stem which supports this composition symbols forth the season of vintage. Numerous children are occupied, some in climbing its branches to gather the grapes, others receiving the plucked fruit, others pressing the grapes with their feet. The gift of Bacchus flows on all sides, falling from one vase into another, which is supported by the figure of the constellation of Winter. The cold Pleiades, surrounded by the fierce children of Boreas, breathes forth frost. We see her scattering with both hands flakes of snow, covering the earth. Cold, or Winter personified, is also recognised in the figure of a man entirely enveloped in drapery, who, seated between two bare trees, terminates at the foot the composition and the allegory.

With what an ingenious variety of ideas has Raffaello, on another arabesque column, represented the ages of life under the emblem of the Fates.

We see Clotho, under the figure of a young girl, at

¹ *Platonis Convivium*, p. 333.

her work, but with that inattention which generally characterises the spring of life. She diverts her eyes from her spinning to look at Love, who holds her spindle. Below her, Lachesis, with more settled countenance, seems more attentive to her work. This is the age of labour and of anxious forethought. She follows her thread with her eyes, and sees it fall beneath the scissars of the severe Atropos. The latter is seated on a kind of cenotaph; a death's head is at her feet; her features are those of an aged but robust woman. This figure is, perhaps, in the whole poetical and figurative language of pictorial design, the best model that one could adopt for a representation of death, without offering a loathsome image to the eyes. We have here said enough to explain how great was the influence of Raffaello upon this class of ornament, in which we cannot cite, for the three centuries since, any work comparable with the Loggie.

It is true that no subsequent artist has been able to avail himself, in so many classes and works, of so many able hands. No one since has been able to associate in the development of his thoughts so great a number of men, endowed with so much talent, as were in the various classes those whom we mention hereafter, as having constituted what is called the *School of Raffaello*.

Such also was the ascendancy of his superiority, and the charm of his moral character, that they created for him, over all around him, a sort of empire, under which men were at once happy and proud to live. They who might have aspired to become his rivals, deemed it an honour to be merely his disciples, and all were his friends. There was also this peculiarity about this school, that the same tie of friendship united all the members among themselves.¹ The jealousies, too common among artists, were here unknown. Their very rivalries of talent only aimed at the advantage of their chief. His glory was as a common property, in the promotion of which all private pretensions were absorbed. Hence the extraordinary power of the talents which Raffaello disposed of, as of a family

¹ Vasari, *ib.*, p. 227.

possession; hence that combination of resources of all kinds, which gave to his genius the means of multiplying itself under so many various forms.

It is necessary to dwell upon these facts and their results, throughout the history of Raffaello, in order to explain to the reader the extent of the undertakings and the multiplicity of the works which bear his name, and bear it most justly, since if, on the one hand, it be true that without such aid they could not have been completed, it is even more certain, on the other, that, without the previous action and influence of his genius, they would never have been begun.

And this more particularly may be said of the Loggie of the Vatican, an undertaking composed of two works so distinct¹ that we have thought it advisable to separate their description, without, however, neglecting their chronological order. This sort of precision would never have been compatible with a class of productions which were necessarily extended over many years. It seemed, however, natural to refer the arabesques wholly to the epoch when Raffaello was charged with the construction of the beautiful galleries which, as we have observed, were probably built with a view to the reception of these ornaments.

We will now resume the series of the single works, the date of which appears to us coincident with the execution of the Loggie, and which may comprehend the years 1514—1516, and perhaps somewhat beyond.

The paintings of Heliodorus and of Attila have shown us the talent of Raffaello, at the height of what is called his second manner. Setting aside what belongs to invention or to the gift of thought, we have recognised in them a bolder drawing, a greater vigour of shading, of tints, and effect, and, generally, a more manly aspect, at once establishing a perceptible difference between it and the clear and pure, but somewhat cold tone, and the finished, but somewhat dry manner of the works of the preceding epoch.

The oil painting of St. Cecilia is evidently in the first

¹ The arabesques and the biblical subjects.

rank of those which belong to Raffaello's second manner. The chronological order in which it is placed indicates this, and Malvasia¹ has fixed the epoch with sufficient precision, by proving that it could not have been commenced before the end of 1513.

Raffaello is universally acknowledged the first of all painters in the department of the art termed *composition*. None can compare with him in scenes of action, movement, and passion; nor can any dispute his superiority in those kinds of subjects (without any subject properly so called) which language has a difficulty in defining. We mean those in which various figures, placed together rather than connected with one another, have no other reason for being assembled than the caprice of him who, to gratify some particular fancy of his own, required the painter to collect on the same canvas a certain number of persons, foreign one to the other. Such representations afford very little more scope for composition than in those antique bas-reliefs where each personage, more or less isolated, seems wholly to partake of the character of statuary.

Such is the celebrated painting of St. Cecilia, with St. Paul, Mary Magdalen, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Augustin; all these saints having the costume and attributes peculiar to them.

It is, perhaps, also a merit specially appertaining to Raffaello, in compositions of this kind, that each of his figures seems susceptible of becoming, without any alteration, the model for a beautiful statue. It may be affirmed that sculpture could not find one better suited by its attributes, its character, and its circumstances, to represent the Apostle of the Gentiles, than the St. Paul resting on his sword. The figure of Mary Magdalen and that of St. Cecilia, transferred to marble, exactly as they are seen in this painting, would be admirable pieces of sculpture.

The picture of St. Cecilia, viewed specially as a work of painting, is distinguished by a great vigour of tone, and by that breadth of tints and effects which Raffaello now sought to produce by the contrasts of shadow, too often

¹ Malvas., *Felsina pittrice*, ii. p. 44

executed without proper transparency. This practice, which is attributed even more to Giulio Romano than to him, arose from the slight experience then had of the effect of the mixture of certain colours in the new manner of painting, which required a totally different distribution of light and shade from that of the preceding schools. Hence the deep tone of the picture of St. Cecilia, in which, as we have already said, Giovanni da Udine painted the musical instruments, and in which, further, critics have fancied they recognised the hand of Giulio Romano in the over-blackness of the shadowing.

But there cannot be a doubt that Raffaello alone painted the heads of all the personages, with that truth, grace, that charm of expression of which he alone possessed the secret. He alone, too, was capable of delineating and executing at the summit of the composition that delicious choir of angels, whose divine accents seem to intermingle with or to prelude those of the patron saint of musicians.

This picture was painted to ornament the chapel of St. Giovanni in Monte, at Bologna. Raffaello sent it to his old friend there, Francesco Francia, praying him to superintend the unpacking of it, to repair the accidents which the removal might have caused, and even to make any correction he might think proper.¹ Vasari, who gives these details, relates further, that Francesco, in this his old age, had been ardently desiring to see a work by Raffaello, whom he had formerly been intimately connected with, but whose marvellous works had for a long time been known to him only by reputation; and that, upon opening the case, the Bolognese painter was seized with such a stupor of admiration, that he sickened, and soon after died.

Can this sudden death, which, according to Vasari, some attributed to envy, be with any probability attributed to the impression spoken of? However unimportant this question may appear, the history of the human heart should not consider its solution a matter of indifference. Now, it is certain that Francia, long since enjoying a high

¹ Vasari, *Vita di Francesco Francia*, ii. p. 514.

reputation in his own country, was of the old school, which had its partisans, and was bound to defend its pretensions. We may therefore suppose, without any wide departure from the probabilities, that, despite the old ties between them, Francia may have had, in reference to Raffaello, a sentiment painful for an old and long celebrated man to endure, the vexation of seeing himself surpassed by so young a man, and this to a degree of superiority which his self-love had perhaps refused to believe upon report. It would not, therefore, be surprising that such a sight as this picture should have suddenly produced upon him that violent impression which the heart of an envious man feels like the stab of a poniard. Malvasia, it is true, has opposed this supposition of Vasari, on the ground that Francia¹ must have seen some other work of Raffaello at Bologna; and he mentions the Vision of Ezekiel, which, he says, must have been in that city in 1510. But there is a great difference between the St. Cecilia and this latter work, which, in the first place, is, despite the rare merit we have pointed out in it, with the exception of some few of the very small pictures of the early youth of Raffaello, one of his least grand compositions, and which, in the manner of drawing and colouring, still reminds us of the old school.

In the sixteenth century, it was much the fashion to combine in one and the same picture, to gratify the devotional feeling of individuals, numerous patron saints, whether those to whom a chapel was dedicated in common, or those whose names the parties had received in baptism; or again, those whose intercession each, according to his devotional feelings, might be accustomed to invoke. The picture of Saint Cecilia was certainly one of these subjects; as were also many of the compositions of Virgins or Madonnas, which the pencil of Raffaello has multiplied under different forms with an incredible variety.²

¹ Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice*, i. p. 44.

² Vasari mentions more than twenty; but he has by no means enumerated all; he has omitted to cite the most important of them, the great Holy Family, executed for Francis I. It must be admitted, that of the number of Virgins which pass for works of Raffaello, there are many which belong only indirectly to him, as being only variations

Religious ideas and the sentiments connected with them, have always been a fertile source whence the arts have derived materials. Those ideas and those sentiments restored life to painting, and nourished it for three centuries. There was a reciprocity of good service, if we may so express ourselves, in this matter. Arts and artists, in their turn, contributed by their works to propagate and to nourish sentiments of devotion. But it must be observed, that these works can only produce their full effect when the author owes to the faith he has in the beings or the ideas, the representation of which he submits to our senses under a determinate form, that efficacy of belief, which is to him what entire persuasion in the justness of his cause is to the orator; that is to say, the surest means of affecting those to whom his work is addressed. Nothing can supply the want of this sympathy between the subject to be painted and him who paints it.

Raffaello, it is known, had a special devotion for the holy Virgin: this is attested, in a measure, by his founding, in her honour, a chapel in the church of Santa Maria della Rotonda, to which we shall again have occasion to refer. But nothing so clearly manifests in him the various feelings of a piety sometimes simple and affectionate, sometimes full of grandeur and elevation, than that diversity of aspects under which his pencil, always noble, though the subject of the composition be simple, always amiable and graceful, though it be sublime, has delighted in setting forth, according to the tastes or destination for which they were intended, the image of the Virgin, here

of the original thought of the author, without speaking of those which were copies or repetitions of his best known pictures. With whatever degree of certainty a critical examination, now become very difficult, may identify works of this kind as belonging to the school of Raffaello, their special description were incompatible with the plan of this history. There would also be another embarrassment, that of the chronological classification, which we have studied to follow as closely as possible. For this reason, we have placed, and shall continue to place under their dates, the principal pictures of Virgins, the periods of which are known; and shall collect under one head the rest of these compositions, or at least the greater number of them, arranging them under the triple division, suited to the class or importance of their subjects.

as the modest inhabitant of Bethlehem, there as the queen of the angels.

The mere collection of all the Virgins, painted or even simply designed by Raffaello, and the detail of the variations which he introduced into his compositions, would form an abridged history of his genius. We should there see, as in the ensemble and series of his other works, a marked progress. We should there have, at the same time, a complete review of all the shades of character, which he distinguished or combined according to the subject, where are assembled, in various degrees, the ideas of simple innocence, virgin purity, grace, nobleness, holiness, divinity, qualities of which, it may be said, he exhausted every expression.

Some pretend¹ that Raffaello is surpassed by Guido in the heads of the Virgin, in what is specially termed the *beautiful*. This opinion would indicate or imply that some heads of Guido appear to partake, and perhaps they do, in a higher degree than those of Raffaello, of a certain cold regularity, perhaps inspired by the ancient marbles. We will not dispute it; and we conclude from the very fact, that the heads of the Virgin by the painter of Urbino are necessarily superior to those opposed to him. The latter have precisely the antique style, the *pagan* style, which does not suit the Christian character of the modern subject, and are wanting in that tenderness, that religious chastity, to express which Raffaello alone possessed the secret.

Yes: Raffaello must be allowed to have fixed in this class of painting, according to the various points of view presented by the subject, that which we call *the ideal*.

The *ideal* does not here mean that which people are accustomed exclusively to attach to the term; that is to say, the beautiful, *par excellence*. Each class of object or subject, in the wide range of imitation, has its ideal; that is to say, its character generalized, and brought, by the genius of art, to the idea or distinct image, which becomes, at one and the same time, for the imagination, its type; for the mind, its definition; for the eye, its copy.

¹ See Lanzi, *Stor. pittor.* ii. 75.

Thus, there are subjects and objects, the *ideal* of which has no affinity with the *beautiful* in the Greek divinities. The ideal of a Venus, a Juno, or a Minerva, cannot be that of a Holy Virgin. The general idea of the Virgin is a combination of divinity and humanity, of nobleness and of modesty, of virgin simplicity and maternal affection. It would be as inappropriate to give to the style, the features, or the dress of the Virgin, the grandeur of form and the general character of the antique statues, as it is to represent her, which many have done, under the commonplace and vulgar image of an ordinary mother or nurse, with an ordinary child.

Not that Raffaello kept in view, in all his representations of the Virgin, the highest and most ideal conception of his subject. Nor do we mean that he always, and in the same degree, stamped upon it the character of holiness, proper to that religious image. It would be very possible indeed, were we to analyse the elements of this subject, to distribute the various conceptions of painting in this class into numberless divisions.

We shall content ourselves with arranging the compositions of Raffaello into three classes:—

The first those in which the Virgin is represented alone with the Infant Jesus, and sometimes with the little St. John.

The second should be distinguished by the name of Holy Families, where we generally find assembled together the Virgin with the Infant Jesus, St. Elizabeth and the little St. John. St. Joseph and St. Anne.

In the third class, we rank the compositions where the Holy Virgin, with the divine Infant, appears either on a cloud or on a throne to mortal vision.

The pictures of the first class were executed, in most instances, for private persons; they are of the number of those which, in Italy, are designated under the simple name of *Madona*, and a copy of which, more especially in that country, has become as indispensable in every house as a crucifix. The manners of the country doubtless formerly presented at Rome, then, as now, innumerable models of mothers grouped with their children, and nursing

them. Raffaello has therefore, beyond the charm of his pencil, little other merit in these lighter compositions than the choice of the most graceful attitudes before him, rendered, indeed, with a simplicity peculiar to himself, in the expression of infantine grace and maternal tenderness.

We shall mention in preference, among the Madonas of this category, that of the Tempi palace at Florence, as being well known from its engravings. The Virgin, represented standing, but seen only half-length, holds the little Jesus in her arms, and seems to be kissing him. We say *seems*, because Raffaello, in reference to the endearments between the mother and child, has always observed a degree of reserve, respect, and modesty, which contributes, more than can be expressed in words, to manifest the character of holiness which the subject requires. The same delicacy is observable in another Madonna, seated with the Infant Jesus on her knees, and which, in Landon's collection,¹ is the companion to the preceding. There the child is receiving a rose from the hand of his mother, who, in the other hand, holds a bunch of flowers.

But the best known, and consequently the most celebrated of the Virgins of Raffaello, which rank in this category, is that which in Italy is called the *Madona della Seggiola*. It is impossible to say how many repetitions there are of this charming picture, nearly all of which dispute the honour of originality. In this number there is one² where the Virgin, half-length and seated, is alone with the infant Jesus, which leads us to suppose that this was the first conception. It is presumed, and with sufficient reason, that Raffaello would rather have added than taken away the young St. John from his composition, as is seen in the picture at Florence, which passes, with the greatest probability, as the work of Raffaello.

In colouring and grace of attitude and arrangement, the present is one of his most agreeable productions. The manner in which the child and mother are grouped, and in which the head of the latter is turned back, the elegance

¹ Plac 426.

² See Lanzi, *Stor. pittor.*, ii. p. 95, note

and grace of the ensemble, have singularly captivated the taste of those who are less sensible to the religious keeping of the subject, than to the general impression of a graceful effect upon the senses. Whatever may be the idea of restriction conveyed by this observation with regard to the *Madona della Seggiola*, we are far from suggesting that, in this charming picture, Raffaello exceeded the bounds of a pious decorum, a fault into which, since him, many painters have fallen, who, reaching no higher than the purely sensual idea, have neither comprehended nor expressed the mystical idea of a God-child and a virgin-mother. I do not believe that Raffaello, among the infinite number of sketches, fancies, designs, or pictures, in which he has so infinitely varied the same subject, has ever, as many others have done, represented the mother of the little Jesus suckling her child. There is, indeed, in this act and function of nursing, something which a religious and delicate feeling would suggest the withdrawal of from sight, as touching too closely upon humanity.

We may regard as of the first class of Virgins, or at least as being the connecting links between the first and the second, some pictures of larger dimensions, in which the Virgin is represented, the size of life, seated or standing, with the Infant Jesus and the little St. John, in compositions where pure simplicity constitutes their principal charm.

Of this number is the pleasing picture¹ in which the Virgin kneeling, lifts up the veil spread over the sleeping Infant Jesus; the little St. John, likewise kneeling, is seen in the act of adoration.

Such also is the Virgin called *La Giardiniera*.

Of the same class is that delicious composition, where the Virgin standing, with the Infant Jesus, also standing, seems to present him to the adoration of the little St. John. This picture, possessing a peculiar charm as a painting, for the purity of design, the simplicity of style and colouring, belonged formerly to the Orleans gallery, and is now in the Bridgewater gallery.

¹ A repetition in the Bridgewater gallery; the original in the Louvre.

There is another delightful picture in London which there is reason to suppose contemporaneous with the preceding. The Virgin is seated in the midst of a landscape; she holds a book in one hand, and with the other the divine Infant, who has his left arm round the neck of his mother, and with the right arm takes hold of the cross of reeds, which the little St. John, kneeling, presents to him. The prophetic nature of this apparently infantine scene is evident. The mere character of the three figures and the saddened affection of their very attitudes, convey to us the idea that an unhappy presentiment has already revealed to them the mysteries of the Passion.

That charming picture, one of the most authentic of Raffaello, and in his second manner, surnamed *della Tenda*, because a stretched curtain forms the greater portion of its background, long remained unknown, from various circumstances; it reappeared a few years since, and forms one of the greatest ornaments of the public gallery at Turin. The Virgin is seated half-length, and in profile. She holds in her arms the divine Infant, who turns round, raising his head, and looks at the little St. John, of whom we only see the head; a simple, unaffected composition, which somewhat reminds us of the *Madona della Seggiola* in the general conception, and of the tone of the Saint Cecilia as regards colouring.

We have mentioned these pictures in the first class of Virgins, selecting them principally as being the best known, leaving the readers at full liberty to augment their number by others which equally deserve to be so distinguished.

We shall, perhaps, be even more at a loss in the choice of the Virgins of Raffaello, which, according to the distinction we have established, would belong to the second class we have designated by the title of *Holy Families*.

These, in fact, form regular family pictures, compositions more or less important, some of which comprise as many as five, six, or even seven figures. It is not within our plan to extend this second division by descriptions of all the most celebrated works of the class. They will elsewhere have more particular mention, in the order of

dates. Still less shall we set forth all the inventions attributed to Raffaello, and which are called *Holy Families*. It will suffice for the plan, as well as for the spirit of our history, to call the attention of the reader to some conceptions, few in number, but adapted to give a just idea of the compositions comprised in this category.

At their head we shall place the holy Virgin, Elizabeth, and the little St. John, receiving the caresses of the Infant Jesus, who is standing up in his cradle. This pleasing picture, now in the Louvre, is of the second, if not of the third manner of Raffaello, who gave it as a present to Adrien Gouffier, cardinal de Boissy, whom Leo X. sent legate into France. In this picture there is great vigour of tone, and most careful handling. The scene presents altogether, in the arrangement of the group formed by the four personages, in the grace of the attitudes, and in the expression of the heads, one of the most charming conceptions which the imagination of Raffaello ever brought forth.

A still more important composition exists in the Museum of Naples, under the denomination of the *Virgin with the long thigh*, so called because of the extended position of the leg of Mary. She is seated on the ground, near the cradle whence the Infant Jesus is stretching out his hand to St. Anne, who presents St. John to him. St. Joseph, leaning on his staff, forms part of the scene. The figures of this picture are of life size. It appears to have been painted at the commencement of Raffaello's second manner; the execution is most brilliant.

Another work in the Pitti palace at Florence, has taken its name, *La Madonna dell' Impannata*, from a window represented in the background, with a sort of exterior curtain or blind. The Virgin is in the act of presenting the Infant Jesus to Elizabeth, who, seated, holds out her arms to receive him. Mary Magdalen is behind, and shows to the Saviour the little St. John, seated in the foreground on a tiger's skin; he is about eight or nine years of age. He prophetically raises his hand, an allusion to his future mission. The Infant Jesus, clinging to the neck of his mother, looks in her face

sportively, with a smile of joy and love. The slight anachronism of the superiority of age in the figure of St. John, is explained by the distinction of some sort required by the picture in favour of him who, as the reader will remember, is the patron saint of Florence. Such, at least, is the reason assigned by Goëthe.¹

We shall here merely allude, because the course of the history will lead us regularly to it, to the celebrated Holy Family, to which the king of Spain gave the title of *Pearl*, which it has retained; and we shall, in like manner, defer the description of the most celebrated of these compositions, that which he executed for Francis I., and which is now one of the principal ornaments of the Louvre.

In all these compositions, Raffaello, without departing from a certain grace which the subject itself required, has always kept aloof from what may be called simple nature, or the vulgar representation of pure domestic life. In every one of them. I will affirm, there is more or less perceptible, religious inspiration; in every one of them shines forth a ray of that celestial virtue, which, shed upon all the figures, raises the subject above terrestrial ideas and feelings.

Without speaking of those where angels, mingling their homage with that of the bystanders, remind the spectator that a supernatural tie unites the apparently human scene with the mysteries of Heaven, there reigns throughout all, a feeling of nobleness and holiness, the principle and influence of which cannot be mistaken. Sometimes it is the divine Infant who is the object of adoration to the bystanders; sometimes it is Joseph, a tranquil spectator, who appears to be admitted into the secrets of the divine counsels, and meditates upon their profundity. Elsewhere, the Virgin-Mother manifests, by her attentions at once tender and respectful, that, initiated in the mysteries of the Redemption, she knows the value of the deposit confided to her; and at other times, as we have seen, a painful presentiment seems to reveal to her the sorrows for

¹ Propyl., vol. i. part ii. p. 53. Missirini gives the same date to this picture as to the St. Cecilia. See *Del vero Ritratto di Raffaello*, p. 20.

which she is bringing up this child of her bosom. There is always, in the infantine relations between the son of Elizabeth and that of Mary, a degree of deference, attention, and submission, which already indicates the distance that is to separate the Messiah from his Forerunner.

The third class of Raffaello's compositions of Virgins, is easily characterised and recognised. This special division constitutes itself, both as to the manner of considering the subject, and as to the more or less ideal manner of treating it. This class is where the Virgin is seen with the Infant Jesus, no longer as an inhabitant of the earth, but, by a metaphorical anticipation, appearing to mortals amid the circumstances with which art surrounds celestial personages.

We see it, for example, in a drawing, whose scene is the clouds. The lower part of the composition is occupied by the three archangels, Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael. It is also seen in the celebrated picture formerly executed for Foligno, and which we have described. We shall see it also, by-and-bye, in the equally celebrated picture at Dresden, representing the Virgin, who, with the Infant Jesus, appears to St. Sixtus and to St. Barba, upon a background formed of the heads of cherubim.

Raffaello employed another means of representing the Virgin as a *glorified* body, the object of adoration to the blessed themselves: this was considering her in the character of Queen of the Angels.

One of the most remarkable examples of this class of conceptions, is certainly that called *the Virgin with the Canopy*, or the *Virgin with the Fathers of the Church*. She is seated on a throne, raised upon three very high steps, at the extremity of the temple. A canopy, suspended from the roof, surmounts the throne, and two angels draw aside the curtains, in order to show the Virgin. Four fathers of the church, in their characteristic costumes and attitudes, stand beside the throne, and two angels at the bottom of the steps are occupied in reading a scroll. The execution of this picture indicates it to belong to the first manner of Raffaello.

The article which we have thought it advisable to de-

vote in a special manner to one of the classes of subjects which so peculiarly occupied the pencil of Raffaello, having obliged us to interrupt the chronological order of his works, we shall now return to that order by describing one of his most celebrated Virgins, one which belongs to the third category of compositions referred to; we speak of the *Virgin with the Fish*. Vasari mentions it immediately after the *Attila*, which would allow us to give it the date of 1515.

This picture, as has been said, must only be ranked among the ideal conceptions of this class of subjects. The Virgin here is represented upon a seat raised upon a high pedestal; she holds with both her hands, and seems to keep back the Infant Jesus, who on his part appears desirous of going to take the hand of the young Tobit, whom the Angel Raphael presents to him. Here, as elsewhere, the Holy Virgin with the Infant Jesus form, not a domestic scene, but a group which, except in colour, would in the picture play the part of sculpture. One would call it, merely from the position of the group and the attitude of the personages who surround it, a statue receiving the homage of piety. But not only is the group painted, and with the colours of life, but it is connected in action with the figures which accompany it. The Infant Jesus places his hand upon the book opened by Saint Jerôm, who kneels upon the foot of the throne, while the motion of his other hand as well as of the rest of his body, is directed towards the young Tobit.

We have already spoken of the purely conventional associations of the holy personages, whose figures painting collected in pictures at the request of individuals, and which there was frequently no other reason for bringing together, than the baptismal names of the person who ordered the picture. Thus, the present picture perhaps was simply an homage paid to the Holy Virgin in a chapel of Saint Dominico at Naples,¹ by some one who was named *Raffuello-Jerôm*.

An endeavour has been made to explain the subject

¹ Vasari, Vit. ib., p. 191.

of this picture in a much more learned manner, assuming an entirely different reason for the assemblage of these personages, and especially for their action.¹ Yet, when we know how this class of composition was multiplied, how many were painted of these pictures of patron saints, we cannot but doubt that Raffaello was guided in this composition by an idea so remote from the practices and customs of painting. We will not therefore attribute to Raffaello any other merit than that of having given to such subjects more interest than had been given to them before his time, in uniting his personages among themselves by a semblance of action calculated to correct, more or less, the unmeaningness of figures which have no actual connexion one with the other.

It was, we presume, with this view and with none to an order of ideas, the application or authority for which we nowhere see, that were executed the Virgin of Foligno at Dresden, the Saint Cecilia, the Virgin with the Three Saints, the Virgin with the Three Archangels, and doubtless, at the same time, the celebrated Virgin of Correggio at Parma.

The picture of the Virgin with the Fish, which the chances of events carried from Naples to Spain, from Spain to Paris, and again from Paris to Spain, is one of Raffaello's most pleasing compositions, one of those which appear to have been the most completely the work of his own hand.²

This work forms the mid-point, or *transition* between the second and the third manner of Raffaello. Its tone

¹ In a collection of studies, after twenty-five pictures of Raffaello, (by Bonnemaïson,) a learned commentator has pretended that the object of this picture was to signify the acknowledged *canonicalness* of the *Book of Tobit*, and the version which St. Jerôm made of it; the child Jesus, by the reception he seems to give to the young Tobit, expressing the approbation of the book by the church. There is all the more difficulty in admitting this commentary, that in the drawing of the Virgin with the three Archangels, mentioned above, we see Raphael with the little Tobit, who is there merely a symbolical sign of the Archangel, that is to say, an accessory, and not a principal subject.

² We shall presently mention the sources to which he had recourse for the execution of his innumerable works.

is everywhere clear. It has all the purity, all the simplicity of the first age; and at the same time, all the firmness, all the breadth of style, the fruit of mature talent. Nothing can be more true than the head of Saint Jerôm; nothing more expressive than that of the Angel Raphael; nothing more simple than the position, or more innocent than the countenance of the young Tobit; and never did the painter conceive any thing more noble and more modest, anything grander and more graceful, than the figure of the Virgin. To it (without prejudice however to many others), we may apply in particular the general eulogy of Vasari upon the Virgins of Raffaello: "They display all that the highest idea of beauty could imagine in the representation of a youthful virgin: modesty in her eyes, on her forehead honour, in the line of the nose grace, in the mouth virtue."¹

The renown of Raffaello had spread beyond the Alps, and especially in France and Germany. Albert Durer, in the latter country, was then beginning to make known, by the skill and facility of his burin, the advantages which later centuries have derived from engraving. This art, of which Finiguerra had developed certain results in Italy, had as yet, however, brought to Florence none of those fruits which more cultivation was to make it produce.

Raffaello owed to the correspondence he had established with Albert Durer, a more intimate knowledge of the productions of his burin, the sale of which began to acquire some extension at Venice. He at once saw of what importance the perfecting of engraving would be to the glory of painting and the reputation of the painter. Already, Marc Antonio Raimondi, a pupil of Francia at Bologna,² had come to complete his study of drawing at Rome. Raffaello encouraged him in the practice of an art which must always have drawing for its principal basis, but which then scarcely recognised any other, the first engravers having no idea of representing upon a plate, by a harmony

ri, *Vit. di Raff.*, iii. p. 195.

² Vasari, *Vit. di Marc Antonio*.

of lines, the harmony of colours in a picture. Marc Antonio Raimondi united all the qualities which the practice of engraving could require at that period. He made rapid progress in the use of the burin; and thus a new career was opened for the labours of Raffaello in presenting to him the occasion of supplying, by the inexhaustible inventions of his pencil, incessant aliment for the engraver.

We owe, therefore, two obligations to engraving at this period: that of having propagated and perpetuated the conceptions of Raffaello, and that of having given rise to many of those conceptions.

It will now be necessary to undertake the description of a new and very interesting series of compositions, which his ingenious pencil and fertile pen unweariedly produced. No one will ever thoroughly know Raffaello, until he has observed him in his drawings. The art of rendering or of executing drawings, which is not what is broadly understood by the art or science of drawing, was, in the practice of this period, the opposite of what it is in the present day. It then only aimed at realizing with facility, and fixing more or less airily, the conceptions of the painter. In truth, it gave to the engraver less the finished matter of a subject to be faithfully copied, than the spirited outline of an ensemble which was to be completed, and the execution accomplished by the burin. Engraving had no other effect to produce than that of a drawing, the mechanical details of which it regulated and perfected. In the present day, the drawings committed to the engraver rival in completeness and finish the execution of the most ably executed plate; and are thus no longer what they were then, the mere expression of a sudden idea, sketches of conceptions to which the burin was to give order and completeness.

We must recur to the original designs of Raffaello, to appreciate the charm of this kind of writing; the true counterpart of thought, the light strokes of which, destined to address the eyes of the mind rather than those of the body, are the expression of an instantaneous feeling, where the pen, the docile and rapid instrument of this feeling, produces only as much reality as is required to give consistency and precision to the ideas.

Such are the drawings of Raffaello: they might seem for the most part only to have served him as relaxations from his great works. Yet there is no kind of subject, serious or light, historical or fabulous, religious or profane, that his pen has not embodied, and this, under every aspect, whether as caprices of invention, as subjects for pictures, as studies for composition, or as designs for engraving.

We cannot refrain from here mentioning the two charming drawings in which he conceived the idea of reviving, from the descriptions which Lucian has left us, two of the most ingenious compositions of the painting of the Greeks, one by *Ætione*, the other by *Apelles*.

In the first we see *Roxana* on the nuptial bed. "She is a young virgin of perfect beauty. Her eyes are cast down before *Alexander*, who stands near her. A laughing troop of little *Cupids* are playing with the arms of *Alexander*. Some carry his lance and bend beneath its weight; others bear one of their number as in triumph, on his shield; one little *Cupid* has placed himself in ambuscade, in the cuirass on the ground."¹

The following is the subject of *Apelles*, revived in a drawing of Raffaello. It represents the danger of denunciation under a suspicious prince.²

"Upon the right of the picture is seated a man with long ears, like those of *Midas*. He holds out his hand to *Denunciation*, who advances from a distance. Near him are two women, one of whom appears to be *Ignorance*, and the other *Suspicion*. *Denunciation* advances under the form of a perfectly beautiful woman. Her countenance is inflamed, and she appears violently agitated and transported with rage. In one hand she holds a lighted torch; with the other she drags by the hair a young man who raises his hands towards Heaven. A man, pale and with distorted

¹ Lucian, *Herodot.* *Sive Ætione*

² In the collection of drawings in the Louvre, there is one upon this subject lightly coloured in bistre. *Lanzi* (*Stor. pittor.*, iii. p. 73.) speaks of having seen one in the royal gallery at Modena, "most exquisitely finished, above all praise, combining in itself the invention of the best painter of Greece, and the execution of the best painter of Italy."

countenance, serves her as a guide. His expression is gloomy and fixed, his extreme meagreness makes him resemble sick persons attenuated by long abstinence. In him we easily recognise Envy. Two more women accompany Denunciation, encourage her and arrange her attire. One is Knavery, the other Perfidy. They are followed at a distance by a woman whose apparel, black and torn, and whose grief, announce repentance. She turns aside her head, weeps, looks back, and with confusion perceives tardy Truth advancing."¹

With the drawing of Raffaello before us, as we read these descriptions of Lucian, we are tempted to believe that the text was drawn up from the designs; a proof that they are a faithful translation of the Greek writer. The first of these drawings doubtless served as a sketch for the Alexander and Roxana, which is still to be seen at Rome, preserved in a *Casino* situated near the *Porta Pinciana*, and formerly the country house of Raffaello, which he decorated with paintings and arabesques.²

Every gallery in Europe contains some of his drawings. We may suppose that many of the subjects, the ideas of which are therein laid down, would afterwards, had his life been prolonged, have exercised his pencil. We indeed find there, sometimes the first ideas, lightly expressed, of compositions which painting would have completed, sometimes the complete plan of the richest conceptions. Amongst the latter, amateurs reckon the beautiful drawings of Christ carried to the Sepulchre, the Plague, St. Paul preaching at Athens, the Last Supper, the Descent from the Cross.

But it would seem that the greater portion of the most finished drawings were those which Raffaello executed expressly for the burin of Marc Antonio. The student

¹ Lucian, ed. Bipontl, viii. p. 35.

² This pretty little villa still subsists, and more than one fresco painting executed from the designs of Raffaello is to be seen there. Two among them represent, one Alexander and Roxana, the other an allegory of the Vices, armed with bows and arrows, shooting at a target. There are also some pretty arabesques, and a head of the Fornarina.

must beware of falling into any mistake on this subject, although, among Marc Antonio's plates, there are some which one might suppose done after the paintings, the least comparison between the subject painted and the subject engraved proves, by the manifest difference between them, that the copy for the print either was the sketch for the picture, or (which is less probable,) a second one which Raffaello made for the engraver.

This art was as yet scarcely known in Italy, except from the very rare prints of Albert Durer.

He was an ingenious, industrious man, already greatly skilled in what we may call the mechanism of his art. Yet, neither a study of nature, (the study directed by taste,) nor models of antiquity, then unknown in Germany, had by their light drawn him from the erroneous paths of the taste called *Gothic*, and which began to be left far behind by that of Italy. His prints were as yet sold only at Venice, and only circulated among a very narrow circle.

We may then easily imagine what an effect engraving, hitherto almost unknown at Rome, must have produced there, when it showed itself, grander, bolder, more regular, and more finished, than the pen whose work it replaced. But it had the good fortune to make its appearance, under the learned and bold burin of Marc Antonio, with those beautiful compositions of Raffaello, which only then acquired, thanks to the multiplication given them by prints, that universal renown which the work of the engraver gives to the work of the painter.

Accordingly, the print of the Judgment of Paris, by Marc Antonio, made an extraordinary sensation at Rome. *All Rome was amazed at it*, says Vasari.¹ It seems, indeed, as though Raffaello had studied, by the infinite details of this composition, to supply the burin of Marc Antonio with every means of exhibiting his skill. The flattering description which Vasari gives of these details, amply proves the admiration which they excited. What at that time appeared merit and beauty, has subsequently been deemed imperfection and fault, since the expression

¹ *Vita di Marc Antonio*, iv. p. 275

of distance, gradations, and of the clair-obscur, having become among the first conditions of engraving, has rendered more manifest the ignorance of that period as to what the art required.

But between the engraving of the beginning of the sixteenth century and that of our own times, no kind of comparison can be drawn. The aim of their imitation or of their effect, has nothing in common; and this results from the difference of the starting point. Marc Antonio had, in fact, no other pretension than that of rendering, with increased vigour and finish, the effect of a pen and ink drawing, conceived upon the plan of the antique bas-relief, rather than according to the spirit of painting, and still less to that of aerial perspective. That which, for more than three centuries, has constituted the merit and glory of Marc Antonio, is a firmness of burin, a scientific handling of stroke, a correctness of form, a force of expression in the outline, which have never been equalled. Such is the effect of those qualities, in the engraving of the Judgment of Paris, that, despite all that the art of engraving has since acquired, in so many different respects, the admiration of artists and connoisseurs is still the same now as at the time when the work appeared.

Among the most beautiful thoughts of Raffaello is ranked the drawing which he made for Marc Antonio, of the Massacre of the Innocents. Although, as we shall see, he repeated the same subject of composition in the cartoons of his tapestries, perhaps it may be affirmed, that in varying this subject, he improved, neither in conception nor in pathos, upon the first burst of feeling, the expression of which the burin of Marc Antonio so happily represented. The work had such success, that it gave rise to a second plate, which is distinguished from the first by the variation of a slight accessory, and which was for a long time attributed to Marc Antonio, but which later researches have proved to be the work of *Marco Dante*, also called *Marco de Ravenna*.

Speaking here but incidentally of the engravings of Marc Antonio, and only as having given birth to and propagated the inventions of Raffaello, it will suffice to

mention those of his engravings wherein the merit of the composition which belongs to the painter is combined with that of the fine execution of the engraver. Such, for example, are the Rape of Helen, the Martyrdom of Saint Felicity, the Blessing of Abraham, and the Preaching of Saint Paul.

When the art of engraving thus began to create admiration for its productions, no one at Rome thought as yet of their sale becoming an important object of commerce. It appears that besides the drawing which he gave to Marc Antonio, Raffaello also defrayed the expense of engraving. However, the demands of the curious increasing as the proofs were multiplied, the idea of selling them naturally suggested itself, and Raffaello gave the privilege and profits of the sale to Baviera, his servant. Ere long, Marc Antonio had pupils and imitators: engraving became a beneficial profession, and trade dispersed its productions throughout Europe.

It has been repeatedly said that Raffaello himself drew the outline of the Massacre of the Innocents on one of Marc Antonio's plates. This opinion may have arisen from the habit of the artists of that period to unite the practice of more than one art, and some that of all. It was in consequence of this custom that we shall shortly have to point it out as probable that Raffaello also worked in sculpture; and as yet more probable, that he would have become celebrated in this art, had his career been a longer one. But we cannot admit the same probability with regard to engraving. Doubtless, it cannot be denied that a painter, so skilful in handling the pen, might very easily have made an outline upon a plate with *aqua fortis*, had this process been known. But, at that time, no other means were used but the burin, and the practice of this instrument requires a special exercise, different from the operations in other modes of delineation, and to which Raffaello had certainly no leisure to serve an apprenticeship. When, therefore, it is pretended that Raffaello retouched the outlines of some of the plates of his drawings by Marc Antonio, it is much more simple, and at the same time more natural, to suppose that he did what may commonly

occur in the present day; that is to say, that on a proof from the unfinished plate, he might, with his pen or pencil, have retouched this or that in the outline of the figures, or in the working up, and suggested alterations or effects, which Marc Antonio would make use of on his copper; suggestions from time to time, and the direction of a taste, always most profitable to the copyist.

Raffaello being, by his genius, beyond all comparison with his contemporaries, had become the true centre point whence all projects proceeded, and where they terminated. But, for the very reason that so large a number of inventions emanated from him, it was impossible that he alone could execute them.

The walls of the Vatican, in the nine years which saw their commencement and their completion, clearly indicate to us the more or less direct and personal share he had in the execution of their paintings. The first four, or those of the *Della Segnatura*, are evidently the work of a single hand; at all events the appearance of secondary or auxiliary hands is very little perceptible. The next hall, that of Heliodorus, begun under Julius II., was terminated under Leo X., that is to say, at a time when Raffaello had the disposal of a tolerable number of able pupils. It is thus a sort of critical exercise for connoisseurs to discriminate, from the manner of the principal pupils, the parts of the frescos where the master employed them, those which he himself retouched, and those which he alone executed.

It is evident that the third of the halls, called the *Torre Borgia*, and which is in like manner adorned with four large fresco paintings, presents, especially in three of these compositions, even more reason to suppose that in them Raffaello trusted to several painters of his school, at least in the execution. Practice, an able practice I will admit, appears to constitute their whole merit. Beyond the historical interest of the subjects, the spectator finds nothing to attract, nothing to fix him. Every one can at once see that the genius and talent of Raffaello had little to do with him.

We must, however, be careful how we think or say as

much of the fourth painting of this hall, a grand and remarkable composition, where the burning of *Borgo Vecchio*, which happened under Leo IV., is represented. We will remind the reader, that in pursuance of the allusive system of which we have already spoken, all the subjects of this hall are borrowed from the history of the popes who bore the name of Leo, and whose portraits are replaced by that of Leo X.

Under the pontificate of Saint Leo IV., a great conflagration consumed a large portion of the quarter called *Borgo Vecchio*, which adjoined Saint Peter's, and it threatened to attack that cathedral, when the pope appeared at the *Loggia pontificale* of the Vatican, and by his blessing arrested the progress of the flames.

There was here certainly, for painting, two ways of viewing the representation of this subject, either by the effect of the flames and smoke for the eyes, or, for the mind and the imagination, by the impression of the various scenes of desolation and terror which such a visitation would produce. It is the last point of view that Raffaello has chosen, and most properly. Although the spectator, by the bursts of smoke and of flame, is fully instructed as to the cause of the movement and agitation of the personages, it may be affirmed that what we least see in the representation of this conflagration is the fire. Let us inquire what it is we do see, and which is doubtless of greater value.

We see there a combination of the most touching situations: an old man carried by his son from the midst of the flames; a young man escaping from the seat of the fire over a wall; a mother, from the top of the same wall, about to throw her infant into the arms of its father, who stands on tip-toe to receive it; the child is about to descend—will it be caught? This occupies the left of the picture.

On the other side, Raffaello has indicated, by the agitation of the drapery of the persons bringing water, that the wind, increasing the action of the fire, will defy their efforts to extinguish it; terror is impressed upon the countenance of the woman, who holds a vase full of water in one hand, and carries another on her head. But nothing can better

paint anxiety and panic fear, than the flight of the mothers and children, who, having escaped in confusion, are assembled in the foreground and middle of the picture, opposite the pontifical loggia, in the hope of that Divine aid which can alone stay the progress of the scourge.

The group in front, uniting the two parts of the composition, is connected also with admirable art to the other groups occupying the side back-ground, and conduct the eye, as well as the mind of the spectator, to the scene of the centre back-ground, which is, as it were, the denouement of the action. This is the procession of pope Saint Leo, whose aid the people are imploring, and whose benediction is about to stay the fury of the flames.

In many of the figures of this picture, Raffaello has given decided proof of a new improvement of manner and drawing. It were impossible to conceive or portray a figure on a grander principle than that of the woman carrying the vases of water. We observe a style as broad as it is bold in the beautiful group of the old father carried off by his son; a group which, considered in itself and in its accompaniments, has become a sort of principle on which that of Eneas and Anchises might be composed; there is like beauty in the young man hanging to the wall by his hands. Assuredly no one could imagine a finer, happier attitude, or a more beautiful development of the human form.

This work is, of all the productions of Raffaello, that which contains the greatest number of nude figures. The fire being supposed to have surprised the inhabitants of the *Borgo Vecchio* in their sleep, Albano has pointed out, as an ingenious indication of the moment, that one of the children, whom the mother pushes on before her, has got its night-dress on; and that the mother herself, but half-clothed, has only had time to save a few of her habiliments. The nude figures thus naturally admitted into the painting, have formed a prominent feature in the question of pre-eminence between Michel Angelo and Raffaello, in reference to the Nude, a controversy rendered still more remarkable by the observations upon Vasari's criticisms on the subject, by Bellori, in his *Descrizione delle Pitture*, and by Federico Zucchari.

Vasari, after enumerating all the great qualities of Raffaello, points out that, from the different manner of each master, he adopted that which seemed to him finest, and of these, by the operation of his genius, compounded one of his own, which presented a combination of all the rest; that thus, in his Prophets and Sybils, in the church Della Pace, he availed himself of Michel Angelo's grand compositions on the same subjects in the Sistine chapel. But he proceeds to lay it down that Raffaello ought to have rested at that point, and not have ventured to contend more directly with Michel in drawing the nude, as he seems to have designed to do in painting the *Incendio di Borgo*; "for," says Vasari, "his drawing of the nude in this picture, though good, is by no means perfect in all its points," &c.

As we have already said, this controversy has been settled long ago. The party spirit which gave rise to it died with it. Vasari, although a passionate admirer of Michel Angelo, is none the less a decided partisan of Raffaello. Perhaps the greatest praise, and, at the same time, the most impartial, that he could give to both the one and the other, was the showing that Michel Angelo was inimitable in the learning of drawing, and that Raffaello, alike without an equal, but in a different manner, had no need to dispute with his rival a species of knowledge, which would have disturbed the harmonious union of qualities which constitutes the merit of his talent.

There is, in fact, no question that the nude, in the figures of the *Incendio di Borgo*, with all the beauty of form, of proportion, and of detail, which so powerfully recommend them, is still very far from possessing the muscular learning, the precision of outline, the harmony of movements, which form the merit (for the most part the sole and exclusive merit) of Michel Angelo's figures. It appears to us that no impartial judge of the matter will refuse to admit this.

But if Raffaello, as a draughtsman, did not attain that profundity of learning, or that energy of stroke which characterise Michel Angelo, it was, as we have already seen, because it was the gifted nature of his genius to com-

prehend in drawing, to seek in it and to achieve that which Michel Angelo never thought of requiring from it. To explain what I mean in a word: if Michel Angelo had painted, in the same class of composition, the *Incendio di Borgo*, he would most unquestionably have presented in it more learned studies of the nude; but would there have been as much and as learned expression, thoughts as full of pathos, situations as interesting?

The three other paintings of the Hall *Torre Borgia*, represent in like manner various events in the history of the popes of the name of Leo; the Victory over the Saracens, in the harbour of Ostia, under Leo IV.; the Justification of Leo III. before Charlemagne; and the Coronation of Charlemagne by the same pontiff.

We here see carried on the system adopted in the previous works, of selecting old subjects from the history of the holy see, and skilfully adapting them to contemporary events, or of allusively placing the portraits of living men on the shoulders of ancient historical characters.

The battle of Ostia, fought against the Saracens, was a subject very appropriate to the circumstances of the time. A former pope Leo had, with the aid of Heaven, obtained over the enemies of Christianity a victory whose remembrance was well adapted to reanimate the zeal of the Christian princes against the Crescent. In the age of Raffaello, the spirit of Mahometan conquest was still in full vigour. But very lately, the Ottoman fleet had menaced Italy, and more especially the coasts of the papal states. It was in order to protect Europe once more from her implacable foe, that the policy of Leo applied itself to combine the efforts of the emperor and of the king of France.¹ The picture of the Naval Battle or Victory of Ostia, represents the pope invoking the aid of Heaven. Prayer is the only weapon employed by the pontiff, but it is successful: his solicitations are heard. The vessels seen in the back-ground of the picture, sufficiently apprise the spectator that the battle has taken place by sea; a fact still more manifestly expressed by the barque from which cap-

¹ Roscoe's *Life of Leo X.*, vol. ii.

tives are landing. Other groups of enemies of the Christian name are led before the pope, and fall at his feet.

The portrait of Leo X. figures in the person of Leo IV.; and the heads of the cardinals standing behind him, are those of cardinal Bibiena and cardinal Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII.

The picture representing the Justification of Pope Leo III., or the pope swearing on the gospel that he is innocent of all the charges that have been brought against him, occupies in the hall of Torre Borgia, above the only window in it, a site similar to that described in the preceding halls. The nature of this space has in like manner prescribed to the painter the arrangement of his composition. The altar on which the pope, accompanied by his train, performs the ceremony of the oath, occupies the upper portion of the arch. The spaces on each side the window are filled with the rest of the composition, and comprehend the dignitaries present on the occasion. Among them is manifestly indicated the emperor Charlemagne, with the easily recognisable face of Francis I.; and all this is, in fact, a metaphorical history-piece.

As to the artistic character of the painting, we must admit that, although interesting in many of its details, it is very far from presenting the same variety of ideas, attitude, and expression, that we admire in the previously described apartments. It is, indeed, difficult to believe, that Raffaello influenced, more than very generally, either the conception or the execution of this work.

The Coronation of Charlemagne is far more abundant in personages, and we cannot but admire the art which has arranged so clearly, in such unconfused combination, the ensemble and the infinite details of the imposing ceremony; yet, to the artist, the inferiority of this work to those in the previous halls is but too manifest. We find here, as must inevitably be the case with all pictures designed as faithful representations of a fixed and prescribed ceremonial, something excessively symmetrical in the lines and masses, something over-uniform in the state costumes of the personages. Hence certain restrictions which, in an artistic point of view, prevent the painter from yield-

ing at full liberty to the imaginative impulses, which would produce the effects most agreeable to the eye, or the situations most interesting to the mind of the spectator.

The group of The Pope crowning Charlemagne is the finest in the composition, and, as may be readily conceived, the most important in reference to the temporal power of the popes, a circumstance which probably suggested the subject. Charlemagne, in fact, completed the work which Constantine had begun; the act of the latter we shall find set forth in the apartment which forms the entrance to the state rooms of the Vatican.

The coronation of Charlemagne by Leo III., afforded an opportunity for various political allusions, in altering simply the names, that is to say the portraits, of the principal personages. The period at which this room was completed was 1517; from 1515 to 1516 took place the treaty of alliance between Francis I. and Leo X., their interview at Florence, and the celebrated Concordat, the object of which was, in abolishing the Pragmatic Sanction, to put an end to the disputes which had so long troubled the concord of the two powers, and to fix their respective limits.¹

The flattery which, in every age, has instituted resemblances between the great men and events of past times, and those of the current period, had probably already given to Francis I. the surname of a second Charlemagne, a new benefactor of the church; a circumstance, however, scarcely needed to inspire the painter with the idea of figuring forth the portraits of Francis I. and of Leo X. as the leading personages in the Coronation of Charlemagne. The likeness in each case is so striking, as to have sometimes misled spectators, and even critics, as to the identity of the action represented. Vasari himself so entirely misconceived the matter, as to describe the Coronation to be that of Francis I. by Leo X. Probably, besides the equivocal arising out of the portraits, he was also led into error by the inscription placed in the embrasure of the window:—LEO X., P.M.A. CHR., M.CCCCC.XVII. But

¹ Roscoe's Life of Leo. X., vol. ii.

this refers to the pope, who ordered the picture, and not to him who, though under the features of Leo X., is the real subject of it.

Upon the whole, the silence which artists, amateurs, and books of description, have observed as to the three last paintings in the hall of Torre Borgia, seems to confirm the impression we have stated, that if Raffaello presided over the selection of subjects, the employment of their allusive features, and some of their details, it is doubtful whether he took any very active part in their composition, and still less in their execution. It is even questionable whether he employed his chief disciples upon them.

The historico-allegorical system, applied by Raffaello to the paintings in the state rooms of the Vatican, excepting the hall *Della Segnatura*, with which he commenced, is equally perceptible in the choice of various subjects of pure decoration, which completed the expressive ensemble of each apartment.

This ensemble in every case naturally divided itself into three parts: a very high figured skirting going all round; then the four sides, occupied with historical subjects; and above, the ceiling with its compartments variously decorated. The ornamenting of the ceilings in the two preceding halls has been already described.

The skirtings merit special mention. Raffaello has pursued with reference to them one uniform plan; it consists of a series of allegorical figures, painted on clair-obscur or camaieu; sometimes under the form of erect statues, sometimes under that of Terms or Telamons, which seem to support the cornice of the skirting. The bas-reliefs in camaieu which occupy the intervals between these apparent supporters in the hall *Della Segnatura*, are subjects corresponding with the great pictures respectively above them, none of which, as we have observed, have any political character.

The cornice of the skirting in the hall of Heliodorus seems sustained by regular caryatides, painted in camaieu, the heads of which are surmounted by capitals. They have all some allusion to the subjects of the great pictures beneath which they figure. Thus the caryatides

under the picture in which Julius II. is introduced as present at the punishment of Heliodorus, present symbolical features which have been interpreted as referring to the government of the warrior pontiff. Beneath the picture of Attila the genius of the artist has given to one of the caryatides the figure of Rome Victorious, to another the emblems of Religion.

But these decorative allusions are still more legibly written on the paintings, in raised gold, of the caryatal statues around the hall of Torre Borgia or Charlemagne. These are portraits of princes famous as benefactors of the church, or as defenders of the faith. Thus we see:

The statue of Charlemagne, with the inscription: CAROLUS MAGNUS ECCLESIE ENSIS CLYPEUSQUE;

That of Ferdinand-the-Catholic, with these words: CHRISTIANI IMPERII PROPAGATOR;

That of the emperor Lothair, with these words: PONTIFICIE LIBERTATIS ASSERTOR. There are several other personages, whom it were superfluous to enumerate, the work of Giulio Romano.¹

We must not omit to point out the ceiling of this hall, as a monument of Raffaello's gratitude towards his old master; wholly at liberty, as we have seen, to efface and suppress all the works of his predecessors, he respected the labours of Pietro Perugino.

There is another hall in the Vatican, the basement of which was decorated by Raffaello, with figures painted in camaieu, and in the manner of statues, representing the Twelve Apostles.

Bottari² tells us that the rest of the decoration of this place consisted in ornaments from the hand of Giovanni da Udine. Under the reign of Paul IV., some rearrangement of the apartments caused much damage to these paintings. Under Gregory XIII., an attempt was made to repair it, and Taddeo Zuchari appears to have occupied himself, with the greatest care, in the restoration of the original outlines of Raffaello.³ But the common opinion

¹ Vasari, iv. 327

² Bottari, *Sopra le belle Arti*, p. 309

³ Taia, *Descriz. del palazzo Vatic.*, p. 118.

is that it was Carlo Maratti, under Clement XI., who retouched the whole of this work, of which the only true memorials remain to us in engravings. These, however, sufficiently enable us to appreciate the justness of idea and the propriety of style employed by Raffaello, to give to each of the apostles his peculiar character. The outlines which Marc Antonio has reproduced of them are in this respect classical works. They ought to be continually under the observation of all artists charged with the execution of evangelical subjects. When certain types have been thus consecrated, their authority must be respected, and the tradition forms part of the science of the moral costume of ancient personages, a costume even more important than that of their dress.

The year 1517 saw the completion of the last of the halls of the Vatican. We have observed that some of the subjects which decorate them gave Raffaello occasion to portray ancient personages, and especially ancient pontiffs, under the features of Julius II. and Leo X. But he also took pleasure, in some of the compositions we have described, in introducing, among the large number of figures which enabled him to do so, the portraits of several celebrated contemporaries whose names we shall presently state, and these attempts already gave promise in him of the prodigious talent which he afterwards developed in the art of portrait painting, and which places him at the head of the first painters of that class.

Probably in the time of Raffaello, no one would have comprehended the idea that in painting a special class might be created of the particular talent which consists in producing the likeness of persons. The proposition would then have been so much the more difficult to understand, from the fact that, up to the sixteenth century, as we have before observed, everything was in a manner portrait painting. We can scarcely give any other name to the routine of imitation, in which are conceived and executed all the subjects current as the decoration of monasteries, churches, and public buildings. The painter had not yet learned to transport himself, in imagination, to the time and place in which the scene he was to repre-

sent had passed. He took his contemporaries as his models; he followed the customs, costumes, and head-dresses of his fellow countrymen. How could he but be led into copying likewise their features and expression? Accordingly, the pictures of the schools which preceded Raffaello appear to us mere collections of portraits. Not that all these figures were portraits, in the strict sense of the word, but all were designed and coloured in the spirit of this kind of imitation. Leonardo da Vinci, in his celebrated painting of the Last Supper, the aspect and general idea of which doubtless appertain to the character of the ideal which the subject required, could not help introducing certain faces, evidently copied (tradition confirms it) from some of the monks of the convent in which the picture was painted.

The school of Perugino must have formed Raffaello in this way, and accustomed him to this practice. We find it displayed, indeed, in some parts of his early productions; his taste only caused him to renounce it gradually. If the reader, to convince himself of this, will look at the first of his works at Rome, the Dispute of the Sacrament, he will find, despite the great distance which separates it from those of his master, that it retains traces or traditions of that manner which we shall call *the portrait style*. The subject, it is true, in some measure necessitated this; the religious dresses of all the persons who occupy the lower part of the picture being of a nature to accommodate themselves, without improbability, to a tendency for this practice.

It is from this, too, that Raffaello seems to take date as a portrait painter; it is here that, without departing from the proprieties of his subject, he has portrayed most of the doctors and theologians of the council, under features which belonged, some to persons well known and easily recognisable at the time, but as to whose identity we have very doubtful information; the others, however, portraits of contemporaries, the close resemblance of which is certified to us, either by established tradition or by the copies of them he has made elsewhere. Accordingly, under various costumes, we recognise and at once name the portraits of Dante, Savonarola, and the duke of Urbino.

Nor can we mistake, despite the ecclesiastical mitre and cope which disguise them, the heads of Pietro Perugino, and of Raffaello himself.

The painting of the School of Athens, the execution of which immediately followed that of the Dispute of the Sacrament, presents a very sensible progress in the ideal style. Raffaello here manifested himself quite equal to his subject, both by his fidelity to the antique in the heads of some of the philosophers, whose portraits archæology had already recovered, and by the happy effort of his genius in the discrimination of the characters which distinguish the different chiefs of schools. The only modern portraits we can cite in this great composition are those of Francesco Maria da Rovere, duke of Urbino, worthy by its beauty to figure among the most beautiful of the antique statues, and that of Bramante, whose features can scarcely be distinguished under the guise of Archimedes, bent down and drawing geometrical figures upon the ground. As to the portraits of Perugino, and especially that of Raffaello, which occupy the smallest possible space in one of the corners of the picture, we shall here merely mention them, because we shall have occasion to speak of them hereafter. These portraits, besides, are here merely equivalent to an inscription which should say: *Painted by Raffaello, the pupil of Perugino.*

The subject of Parnassus not only permitted Raffaello, but commanded him, in the mixture of ancient and modern poets, to introduce a large number of portraits of celebrated men, no longer upon strange shoulders, but in their own actual persons; Petrarch, Dante, Boccaccio, Ariosto, &c.

In the other paintings in the halls, we see, by the same metastasis: in the picture of Heliodorus for example, the portraits of Julius II., of the secretary, Pietro de Foliaris, of Marc Antonio, and Giulio Romano; in the picture of Attila, those of Leo X., and of the cardinals Giovanni de' Medici and Bibiena, &c. We have mentioned the portraits of those who form the retinue of the pope in the Miracle of Bolsena, and at the ceremony of the Coronation of Charlemagne.

We have here more than sufficient to show how skilled

was Raffaello in the practice of portrait painting; with what ability, and with what propriety he introduced them, without incongruity, into compositions of a higher class, and with what facility he could pass from subjects in the most ideal style to objects of purely natural imitation.

To this habit of exercising himself either alternately or in the same work, upon the two species of the true, which enter into the theory of imitation, he perhaps owed an advantage as rare as it is precious; I mean that, in subjects of the ideal kind, he could preserve a measure which nature would not disown, and that, with subjects of the simple kind, such as portraits, he could blend a certain grandeur of form, and a vigour of resemblance, which can never be attained by him whose pencil has not soared beyond the limits of the class.

Whatever the merit and imitative worth of Raffaello's numerous and various portraits in the halls of the Vatican, it was scarcely in the nature of fresco painting that he could give to his works the exquisite finish of oil painting. Accordingly, notwithstanding all that may be praised in the portraits enumerated, it must be allowed that they cannot convey an adequate idea of the talent of Raffaello, as regards the power of tone and perfection of resemblance, to those who have not seen his portraits in oil, of popes Julius II. and Leo X.

That of Julius II.¹ preceded the other by four or five years. The colouring is less vigorous. Its effect inclines to the second manner of Raffaello, which some prefer to the third, as having greater clearness of tint, more finish of work, more simplicity of execution. Let us add, with regard to this portrait, that the pontiff's face has an energetic truth of expression which Raffaello never surpassed.

It was no commonplace merit of mere likeness. It does not suffice, in lauding such a work, to point out either the precision of outline, or the correctness of the general form of the head or of the details of the face. These

¹ Now in the National Gallery.

praises belong to many portraits which give only the exterior of the person. But what imports this exterior, unless it be the faithful mirror of the inward man, of his manners, habits, passions, character? To him who knows the moral history of Julius II., that history is written upon his portrait by Raffaello. After so many years, one may still say with Vasari:¹ "He makes us tremble as though he were alive."

The portrait of Leo X. between the two cardinals, is a still more remarkable work. The pope, represented three-quarter size, is seated before a table covered with a cloth. He seems either presiding at a council, or listening to the report of some business. The cardinals Giulio de' Medici and de Rossi are at his side, as his principal ministers.

It is so difficult to convey to the mind by words the perfection and beauty of the productions of the pencil, that naturally, and at all times, hyperbole has been called to the aid of description, to amplify the idea that the imagination must conceive, in order not to remain below the reality. Ere long, these hyperbolical phrases give birth to certain tales, more or less fabulous, which, apocryphal as they are, none the less contain the expression of some truth. In this way should we receive what is related of the portrait of Charles V. by Tiziano,² and of that of Leo X. by Raffaello. It is pretended that the illusion of the likeness in the first was such, that the picture having been placed near a table, the son of the emperor approached it in order, as he supposed, to talk with his father on business. The work of Raffaello, it is said, was honoured by a similar mistake. It is related that cardinal Pescia, datary of Leo X., knelt before it, and presented to it bulls for signature, deeming it the pope himself.

These tales, we repeat, have in them some degree of truth. It is impossible to see the portrait of Leo X., though the three centuries passing over the painting have necessarily diminished that brilliancy of colour which so much contributed to the illusion, without experiencing

¹ Vasari, iii., 181.

² Lettere pittoriche, vi. 131.

that power of the art, which impels the mind of the spectator to yield to the illusion which the artist is entitled to aim at. There is, indeed, a legitimate illusion in all imitation. It is that which we undergo from an ensemble so finished, that the perfection it has obtained solely by means of art prevents us from noticing what it necessarily admits of the fictitious and incomplete, if it be compared with the reality. But it is only given to the talent and genius of the artist to excite the kind of illusion of which we speak, by the aid of an admiration which, diverting every other feeling, concentrates our soul and our senses in the fascination of the art.

Now this sort of power is experienced in looking upon the portrait of Leo X. It is impossible to resist it when we examine the depth of truth and character in the head of the pope, the noble simplicity of his attitude, the correctness of the ensemble, the vigour of the colouring, the relief in which the painting stands out, the broad and accurate execution of all the accessories. Vasari has chiefly dwelt upon the praise of the details of this picture. Besides the two portraits of the cardinals, the principal accessories, he luxuriates in the illusion of all the details, in the way in which are treated the gold, the silk, the ornamented borders of the pope's robes, and the splendour of the stuffs. We seem, he says, to hear the rustling of their folds. He omits neither the book bound in vellum, nor the silver bell, nor the glittering golden ball on the arm chair in which the pope is seated. These, he adds, are minutiae, and it is not in them that either the talent of the painter or the merit of his work consists. Certainly not; and Vasari knew this, perhaps, better than most men; but compelled as a writer to give to the reader an idea of those beauties, whose image words, especially written words, cannot convey to the mind, he lays the greater stress upon the description of objects whose idea addresses itself to the outward senses. It is a way of expressing what the chief feature of the picture must be when the least accessories are treated in such perfection.

The original of this celebrated portrait, which is in the third manner of Raffaello is at Florence. There was

more than one copy made of it at the time. The best known is that which, painted by Andrea del Sarto for the duke of Mantua, afterwards passed to Parma, and from that city to Naples, where it now is. The celebrity of this copy arises, first, from its astonishing fidelity, and next, from the circumstances of its execution. Clement VII. had presented the original to the duke of Mantua.¹ Ottavio de' Medici having received orders from the pope to forward the picture to the duke, and desiring to keep it at Florence, devised numerous pretexts for deferring the transmission. These delays gave him time to have a copy of it executed by Andrea del Sarto, and this copy was sent to Mantua, where Giulio Romano, settled in that town, took it to be the original at which he himself had worked under Raffaello. His mistake was not corrected until Vasari, passing through Mantua, and aware of the deception, undeceived him by taking the picture out of its frame, and showing him on the border, concealed by the woodwork, the name of Andrea del Sarto.

This will explain how a vast number of copies of Raffaello's oil pictures by his disciples, now diffused through all countries, all equally pretend to the merit and renown of being the original. The circumstance was doubtless less frequent with regard to portraits; yet we would not venture to affirm that that of the cardinal Giulio de' Medici, which should be at Florence, is not a repetition of the portrait of the cardinal in the picture of Leo X.

A catalogue raisonné of the portraits in oil, which are generally acknowledged as the works of Raffaello, would occupy too much space, and it would still be difficult to indicate with precision either the degree of certainty as to their originality, or, as regards most of them, the places where they now are.

Comolli² states the number of his portraits in oil to be twenty-seven, among which he mentions those of the most celebrated persons of the time,—namely, Lorenzo and Giulio de' Medici, Bembo Giovanni della Casa, Caron-

¹ Vasari, *Vit. d'Andrea del Sarto*, iii., 378.

² Comolli, *Vita*

delet, Baldassare Castiglione, Inghirami, Baldo, Bartolo, Bindo Altoviti, and Joanna of Arragon.

The portrait of the vicegerent of Sicily should interest us for many reasons. Joanna of Arragon was one of the most beautiful women of her time. It was Ippolito de' Medici¹ who commissioned Raffaello to paint her portrait, in order to present it to Francis I. Whatever the ambiguity of Vasari,² who seems mistaken as to the name of the princess, it is certainly Joanna of Arragon whom we should recognise in the portrait at the Louvre, and which, with the most perfect preservation, combines the twofold merit of being in the third manner of Raffaello, and the work of his own hand. As to the latter point, we may first rely upon the authority of customary etiquette, which undoubtedly imposed upon the artist, when he had to do with portraits of great personages, the obligation of painting them himself. We have next the testimony of Vasari, who, however, while assuring us that Raffaello painted the head of this portrait,³ tells us that the rest was done by Giulio Romano. Nothing, however, in the execution of the whole work, manifests the slightest difference of pencil. Without losing its character as a portrait, the head doubtless owes to the beauty of the original the being worthy of a place in a composition of the highest class. If the painting was indebted for this to the model, we should merely have to do honour to the painter for the extreme purity of touch, the truth of tone and colour, the exquisite finish, and wonderful grace of his pencil. What might we not add in praise of the beautiful composition of the whole, the magnificence of the drapery, the breadth and richness of the arrangement, the general harmony, the ingenious selection of details, and especially of the architectural back-ground. This work is one of those which most clearly prove, not only the tendency but the capacity of Raffaello to combine all the qualities of painting.

The portrait of the poet Tebaldeo was known only from

¹ Comolli, *ib.*, p. 54.

² Vasari, *Vit. di Sebast. Venez.* iv. 371.

³ Vasari, *Vit. di Giul. Rom.* iv. 323.

a few words of praise from cardinal Bembo. The eulogy of such a judge, the comparison he draws between this portrait and that of Castiglione, which we know, seems to us, historically at least, to supply the place of ocular proof.

"Indeed," wrote Bembo to the cardinal of Santa Maria in Porticc,¹ "Raffaello has just painted our friend Tebaldeo with so much truth that himself does not more resemble himself than this painting resembles him. For myself, I have never seen a more striking resemblance." He goes on to say, that neither the portrait of Baldassare Castiglione nor that of the duke of Urbino, approaches, in point of likeness, to that of Tebaldeo; "these," he adds, "seem to have been the work of one of the pupils of Raffaello."²

It is solely, the reader will observe, in reference to likeness, that Bembo, comparing the portrait of Tebaldeo with those of Castiglione and the duke of Urbino, asserts that the latter would appear not to be the work of the master's own hand. But can we for a moment suppose, that Raffaello would have confided to one of his pupils the task of giving the features of Castiglione, his most intimate friend, his most zealous patron? Impossible as it is for us, in the present day, to estimate the degree of resemblance, the sole object of Bembo's praise, we shall content ourselves with saying, that, although inferior in size to that of Joanna of Arragon, near which it hangs in the Louvre, the portrait of Castiglione presents a broader

¹ Lett. pittor. v., p. 131.

² In the Appendix to the Italian translation of the present work, there is some valuable information as to the hitherto unknown portrait of Tebaldeo—information due to count Luigi Bossi. He tells us, that in the rich collection of the celebrated professor Scarpa at Pavia, he discovered a magnificent portrait painted by Raffaello, which can only be that of Tebaldeo, who repaired to Rome in the commencement of the sixteenth century. He accompanies his notice with an engraving of the portrait, and points out that, if there be some differences between it and the alleged portrait of Tebaldeo, in the Parnassus, they may easily be accounted for, the painting of Parnassus having been executed long after the time that Tebaldeo was at Rome. Besides, the portraits in the Loggie may have been done from recollection, many of the originals certainly not being there to sit for them.

manner of painting, and a freer handling. We may observe in it what is shown in the works of this period, which must have been that of 1516, that the farther Raffaello advanced in his career, the more he laboured to veil the strokes of his contours, to disguise the external lines of his forms under a freer workmanship and more graduated tints, without, however, losing any purity of drawing. Why, then, should we not repeat of the head of Castiglione in his portrait, what the countess his wife said in the Latin verses she addressed to the absent original?

“ Hinc ego
Alloquor et tanquam reddere verba queat.”

Yes! after more than three hundred years, this head seems to us still living, and we cannot be surprised at the sentiment which such an image must have produced, and which poetry expressed in verses inspired by the truth of the painting.

Of all the portraits painted by Raffaello, that in which he attained the highest point as a colourist is, by the admission of all connoisseurs, that of Bindo Altoviti: equal in the colouring, says Bottari, to the finest and most life-like of Tiziano.¹

This beautiful work, from the ambiguity of the terms in which Vasari speaks of it, has itself become the object of a mistake, since Bottari, in the last century, sent forth, as to the person represented by this portrait, an opinion which soon spread without examination, and led the celebrated Morghen into an error in the engraving he published of it. This error was the considering and announcing the head of Bindo Altoviti to be that of Raffaello himself. We will devote a few lines to establish the truth on this point, drawing our remarks chiefly from the dissertation of M. Melchior Missirini, prefixed to a collection of pieces respecting Raffaello.²

This is the sentence of Vasari which gave rise to the ambiguity:—“*A Bindo Altoviti fece il ritratto suo, quando*

¹ Vasari, *Vita di Raffaello*, first note by Bottari.

² *Descrizioni delle Immagini d'ovinti, &c* Roma, 1821.

era giovane, che è tenuto stupendissimo."¹ Literally: For Bindo Altoviti he did his portrait, when he was young, which is deemed a most stupendous work.

It is clear that a certain ambiguity may result, in Italian, from this use of the possessive pronoun *suo*. But M. Missirini has proved, in more than one way, that the phrase of Vasari is correct, and not at all ambiguous in reality. We will add but one reason to his arguments; it is, that if Vasari had intended to relate the somewhat singular circumstance, that Raffaello executed his portrait as a present for this nobleman, he would, in order to avoid all confusion in the turning of his phrase, have added after *suo* the word *proprio* (his own.)

We have just observed that the circumstance, as Bottari has understood it, would have been somewhat singular. In point of fact, there are not many instances of artists painting their own portraits in order to give them to great personages. Now, Altoviti was of a very illustrious family, having a great palace at Rome, and another at Florence. We next ask how it happened that this portrait should never have been known to the members of this family under its true name; how it should have been preserved by them for two hundred and fifty years, and always regarded as the portrait of one of their ancestors, until the moment when Bottari took it into his head to tell them that it was the portrait of Raffaello?

It is incontestable, according to Vasari, to all later writers, and to uninterrupted tradition, that Raffaello painted himself, with Perugino, Bramante, and several of his pupils, in the frescos of the Vatican. That of all his own portraits in which he is most readily recognised, is at the angle on the right, of the School of Athens. Now Signor Missirini having taken the utmost pains in comparing this, detail by detail, with that of Altoviti, the result was that there was no resemblance between the two heads, either in the features of the face, or in the complexion. Bindo Altoviti is fair, high coloured, and of a

¹ Vasari, Vita di Raffaello, iii. 105.

vermilion tint; Raffaello has brown hair, and his complexion borders upon the olive.¹

Another consideration derives from the very passage in Vasari. If Raffaello, the matter for the moment being understood as desired by Bottari, had painted here his own portrait, "when he was young," *quando era giovane*, this can only be interpreted in two ways (with regard more especially to a man who died young, at the age of thirty-seven): first, that he painted himself several years younger than he was—and yet this face *di giovane* has moustaches—or that this was really a production of his youth. But the youth of life necessarily involves the youth of talent. This, then, under the supposition, would have been a work of that first manner, which, as we have seen, recommended itself only by the purity, and, if we may use the term, the innocence of its outline and of tone. How can we persuade ourselves that the *chef-d'œuvre* of Raffaello, as regards colouring, and in which Bottari himself proclaims him equal to Titian, should have been produced at a time when he was yet so far from aspiring to, or even suspecting, the merit and title of colourist? The work is perhaps, in this respect, that which differs most from those of his youth.

It had been taken from Rome to Florence, where it was hung prominently in the Altoviti palace in the *Borgo degli Albizzi*, when Bottari, having circulated the opinion we have opposed, with regard to it, the house of Altoviti, ceasing to see in it a family portrait, attached less value to its preservation, and parted with it. About the year 1811, it was acquired by the king of Bavaria for the sum of 7000 crowns (1600*l.*)

The further we advance in the history of the works of Raffaello, the more clearly do we see the cause of, and the better can we account for their multiplicity; in proportion as his reputation increased, his school augmented in the number of able disciples. Disposing of so many instruments, docile to his inspirations, his genius only

¹ Such is he also in the portrait painted by himself in the gallery of Florence.

became the more productive. Many of his fellow-labourers had caught the secret, as well of his manner of thinking and composing, as of that of his operation. They distributed among themselves the execution of the various kinds of objects which entered into his compositions, and a sort of division of labour was established in this way. We know that the regular course of procedure in original works was this:¹ Raffaello composed and designed, Giulio Romano then took up the work of the picture, and Raffaello gave it the finishing touches, as he did also in copies. The original work completed, copies were made by pupils, generally of the second class, the finishing touches being either by Giulio Romano, or by Raffaello himself.

We may understand from this the difficulty which, in the present day, the critic must necessarily labour under in discerning, in many works, those where Raffaello alone worked, and those in which he merely reserved a share of the work for his own hand. The best criterion in such cases, were doubtless the certainty resulting from the points of comparison with those of his oil paintings, which are known as necessarily, at least in their principal part, the work of his own pencil.

Now, it seems to us, that his portraits, painted in oil, are precisely and pre-eminently the works which the criticism of which we speak may, with the greatest security, employ in this verification; and among them, more particularly, those which he executed for a certain number of persons.

A letter from him to Francesco Francia, in which he thanks him for sending his portrait, contains also excuses for the delay in sending him, in return, his own, painted, as had been agreed, by his own hand; "which, from continuous and most important occupations," he says, "I have not as yet been able to finish. I might," he adds, "have sent you one done by a pupil, and retouched by myself; but this would have been most wrong."²

There were then works of which Raffaello reserved to

¹ Lanzi, *Stor. pitt.* ii., p. 84.

² See *ante*, 253.

himself the entire execution. Now, it is obvious, that portraits were necessarily in this category. No kind of imitative work less admits in its ensemble, and more especially in the heads of what is called the *division of labour*. If this be true of portraits in general, with greater reason may we deem it manifest and incontestable of portraits of personages of high rank. Thus we may be tolerably sure of finding the own manner of Raffaello unmixed with any other pencil, in the heads of the portraits we have mentioned, as well as in those of some other celebrated men, whom he painted in oil.

The portrait of Leo X. between the two cardinals (excepting the accessories at which Giulio Romano worked), and that of Altoviti, which seems to belong to the same epoch, according to the order followed by Vasari, are then productions of the sole hand of Raffaello, and in his last manner. If chance had not dispersed the works of his pencil throughout every country in Europe, the two we have just mentioned would, above all, be of great assistance in enlightening criticism as to the manner of arranging, in the degree of their originality, many of the pictures in oil which we are about to describe.

The peculiar knowledge that circumstances have enabled us to form of certain works which present the materials for the requisite comparison, induces us to regard as by the own pencil of Raffaello, in the very height of his power, the Bearing the Cross, called Dello Spasima di Sicilia, from the circumstance of its having been executed for the monastery of Santa Maria dello Spasimo at Palermo.

This chef-d'œuvre of painting has undergone the most extraordinary vicissitudes. The vessel that was carrying it to Palermo, after beating about in a violent tempest on the coast of Italy, was wrecked, and the crew and cargo alike perished. A sort of miracle alone saved the picture; the case inclosing it, driven by the waves to the coast of Genoa, was fished up and carried ashore.¹ On opening it, the picture was found uninjured, untouched,

¹ Vasari, ib. iii. 199. Baldinalli, ii. 175.

the water not having penetrated to it. Intelligence of the fact reaching Palermo, an immediate demand was instituted for the shipwrecked painting; but it needed all the influence of Leo X. to obtain its restoration to the convent, the brotherhood of which, after all, had to pay a large additional sum by way of salvage. Subsequently, Philip IV. having caused the picture to be secretly carried off, sent it to Spain, and indemnified the monastery della Spasimo for the loss of its treasure by an annuity of 1000 crowns.¹ Afterwards taken to Paris, by the effect of the war of 1810, it was transferred to canvas in 1816, and finally returned to Spain.

Mengs, more than any other person of his time, contributed to direct the attention of artists to this chef-d'œuvre, which from the remoteness of its locality had become almost as it were forgotten, and to restore to it the past celebrity of which the defective judgment of Malvasia seemed to him to have deprived it. In his description of the principal pictures of the king of Spain, he has passed in review the various merits of this painting, and the learned analysis he gives of it presents to us the complete idea of that combination of beauty, which consummate skill, aided by intense feeling, can alone produce.²

The moment selected by the artist, in this pataetic composition, is that wherein, borne down by the weight of his cross in the ascent to Calvary, the Saviour has fallen on his knees; his divine resignation, however, does not abandon him, though his physical strength is almost exhausted. With his right hand he grasps the cross, a movement which seems to say, "I will suffer even until death." His head and the upper part of his body are turned towards the holy women, dissolved in tears; he is addressing them, and in announcing the downfall of Jerusalem, calls upon them not to weep for him, but for their children. In no one of his compositions did Raffaello carry to such a height of illusive force the expression of every shade of grief.

The text of the picture is, *Weep not for me, but weep for*

¹ Museo Fiorentino, i 54.

² Mengs, Opere, ii.74.

yourselves, and for your children. This is why we witness tears upon the faces of the two holy women, and upon those of St. John, of Mary Magdalen, and of the Holy Virgin. When grief finds vent in tears, it no longer produces that mute and concentrated expression which does not alter the regularity of feature or the tranquil character of beauty. Raffaello, in the representation of religious grief, has always respected the limits of a *fitness*, prescribed alike by the nature of the subject and the interest of art. He has here carefully graduated, according to the age and character of the persons, the impression of grief in their countenances, that is to say, the greater or less change effected in them by its manifestation.

Thus there is less of this physical change, and, consequently, more nobleness in the physiognomies of St. John and of the two holy women, than in that of the Magdalen, whose features, again, exhibit an inferior degree of material affliction to that of the Holy Virgin. It is in the face of the latter, more aged than the rest, that Raffaello has expressed the sentiment of grief by the most energetic characteristics.

Language has no words to convey an idea of the profoundness and intensity of this sentiment in the face of the Virgin. Her eyes red with weeping, the contraction of her forehead, her open lips, her gaze intent upon Christ, all give evidence, in combination with her attitude, of a passionate affection within, that at once produce its effect upon the spectator. No one can regard those utterly despairing features without a sentiment of sympathetic emotion, without tears.

Beyond all admiration is the contrast presented by the calm face and whole expression of Christ. He succumbs, indeed, under the material weight of the cross, but without quitting it. We see visibly in him that wondrous union of human nature suffering physically, and of the divine essence which knows why this suffering is undergone, and therefore condescends to undergo it. Raffaello alone of all painters could thus render to us, in the face of Christ, and its expression under the greatest mental abasement, the sublime of divinity in this mysterious sacrifice.

Nor must we omit to point out the skill with which Raffaello has assembled within the narrow limits of this picture—a composition as various in its features as it is numerous in personages—and kept clearly and congruously at only a moderate height, the procession of the escort through the defiles from the city to the summit of Calvary. There is not a single detail in this work which might not be made the subject of eulogistic remark. For instance, after the mind and the feeling have exhausted their commendations of the principal feature, the critical examination of the accessories would develop for our admiration the manner in which the glittering cuirass of the centurion who commands the soldiers is, with an exquisite nicety of truth, made to reflect, as in a mirror, the objects which come within its range.

It was one of the remarkable properties of Raffaello's genius, that in the execution of his works he always expressed in a prominent manner the greatest and most elevated feature of his subject, without, in any degree, scorning its minutest details. Lanzi has observed on this point, that the finish he has given to his heads is such that you can almost count every particular hair.¹ May not this be explained by the manner in which he acquired the first rudiments of his art in the school of Perugino, and from his contemporaries—that is to say, the system which accustoms the pupil to look closely into objects, and, consequently, into their details, before he enlarges his view and embraces them as a vast whole? And so far, whether is it more easy to advance from the less to the greater, or to retrograde from the greater to the less? This, however, is one of those questions of practical theory whose development would occupy too much space for our present purpose.

The king of Spain possesses a Holy Family by Raffaello, of much the same date with the preceding,² judging from the style of drawing and the manner of colouring. It formerly passed from Mantua to England, where it was purchased by Charles I., with a number of other valuable works of art.

¹ Storia Pittorica, ii. 84.

² It accompanied it to Paris, and returned with it to Spain.

After the death of this monarch, it was bought by Philip IV of Spain for 3000*l*.¹ It is related that when Philip first saw this noble work he exclaimed: *This is my pearl!* Hence the title which has since designated the picture.

This noble and charming production belongs, according to the analysis previously given of these subjects, to that class which occupies the middle space between the *naïve* and simple truth of the first order of Virgins, and the ideal truth of the third.

The Madonna is represented, full life size, holding with one hand the Infant Jesus, who is half seated on her right knee, his left leg resting on the cradle, the other hanging down. The little St. John, raising with both hands the skirt of his skin garb, is presenting to the Infant Jesus the fruits which he has collected there. The child, ere he takes them, turns smilingly towards his mother, as if to solicit her permission. Mary's left arm rests on the shoulder of St. Anne, who, kneeling, seems absorbed in meditation. The back-ground is occupied on one side with a landscape, on the other with ruins, close to which we see St. Joseph.

The colouring of this picture, though somewhat faded by the effect of time, has preserved great vigour, and a harmony which, in some of its parts, need fear no comparison with the works of the Venetian school. The flesh tints of the Infant Jesus are as brilliant as the movement and outlines of the figure are graceful and pure.

In more than one place of the picture, we detect corrections or second thoughts. We learn from these that the head of the Virgin, now a three-quarter face, was first in profile. The hair above the left temple has been raised. We also perceive several alterations in the outline of the left hand of the Virgin, and of the left thigh of the child.

This picture reminds us of another Holy Family closely resembling it, and described by Vasari. It bears the date 1516, the epoch of Raffaello's fourth visit to Florence. The picture is in his third manner; whether he executed

¹ *Conea. Descriz. Odeporica della Spagna*, ii. 50.

it at Florence or sent it there already completed, is not known; but however this may have been, the date incontestably demonstrates that Vasari is wholly mistaken in placing its description and execution at the epoch of Raffaello's second visit to Florence, and long before his departure for Rome.

In the composition of this picture, as we have observed, there are many affinities with that of the preceding work. Here, in like manner, the Virgin holds upon her knees her son, who smilingly receives the little St. John, presented to him by St. Elizabeth, who herself turns towards St. Joseph, leaning on his staff. We admire here, says Vasari,¹ the intelligent delicacy with which the painter has expressed the relations between the two children, in that act of respect of the one towards the other, the anticipatory sign of the public homage he will one day render him.

For want of precise information as to the time when the picture of the Visitation was painted, we shall place our brief mention of it after the two pictures which it accompanied in their journey from Spain to France, and in their return from France to Spain.

Conca² judged that there was some difference of manner between the painting of this work and that of the picture called the Pearl. After what we know of the variety of hands which Raffaello, in his later years, employed in the execution of his numerous works, we may readily explain the varieties that must be presented, solely as regards the manner of operating, by pictures which yet date from the same epoch. However this may be, the Visitation certainly belongs to the mature age of Raffaello. There are few pictures so remarkable for the simplicity of conception, for that charm of a true and natural sentiment, derived from the very text of the Gospel, which gives it a nobleness above all art, because it seems without art.

The subject of the Visitation has been treated by many painters. The majority have (very justifiably) given it a

¹ Vasari, iii. 168.

² *Descrizione Odeporica*, ii. 52.

certain pomp of composition which, with the artist, is a means of expressing to the eyes the grandeur and mystery in the meeting of the mother of the Saviour, and the mother of his forerunner. Raffaello has brought back the subject to its most simple expression—to a literal translation of the gospel of Saint Luke:¹ “And Mary arose in those days, and went into the hill country with haste, into a city of Juda;” to see her cousin, who for nine months past had borne the forerunner in her bosom. Elizabeth, on her side, had quitted her dwelling and advanced towards Mary, and they meet upon the banks of the Jordan. This is the whole picture. Nothing less than the genius of the painter could have impressed upon the two figures, that character of religious decorum, of respectful affliction, and of divine modesty, which announces the marvellousness of the visible pregnancy of the aged Elizabeth and of the young Mary. There is nothing comparable with the delicacy of the shades of sentiment manifested in the attitude, the bearing, and physiognomy of each of the two mothers. A sort of embarrassment, mingled with innocence, is expressed throughout the Virgin. Her countenance, her head slightly inclined, her eyes lowered, reveal the mystery whose secret she possesses; and Elizabeth, by the cordiality of her gesture, her tender expression, announces that she understands to what they are each of them called.

After such beauties, we need not praise either the details of the dresses, the vigour of colouring, the harmony of the landscape, or the excellence of the execution in every part. This picture is six feet two inches and a half high, by four feet three inches and a half. Originally painted upon panel, while at Paris it was transferred to canvas.²

¹ Chap. i., v. 39.

² The process of transferring pictures from wood to canvas, is thus described by the members of the National Institute, who performed the delicate operation upon another of Raffaello's pictures:—

“It was necessary, as a previous step, to render the surface of the panel on which the picture was painted perfectly plane. To this end, a ganze having been pasted over the painting, the picture was turned upon its face. The citizen Macquin then formed in the substance of the wood a number of small channels, at certain distances from each other, and extending from the upper extremity of the arch, to where the

Raffaello has treated, in several ways, the subject of St. John the Baptist in the Desert. The most celebrated of all the pictures which thus represent him, is that of which many copies exist. Three or four of these may be mentioned. There is one in which we recognise the colouring of Pierino della Vaga. Another, by its over dark shades, betrays the manner of Giulio Romano. It is known, from

panel presented a truer surface. He introduced into these channels small wooden wedges, and afterwards covered the whole surface with wet cloths, which he took care to renew from time to time.

"The action of these wedges, expanding by the humidity, obliged the panel to reassume its original form, the two parts of the crack before mentioned were brought together; and the artist, having introduced a strong glue to re-unite them, applied cross bars of oak, for the purpose of retaining the picture, during its drying, in the form which it had taken.

"The desiccation was performed very slowly; a second gauze was applied over the former, and upon that two successive layers of spongy paper. This preparation, which is called the *cartonnage*, being dry, the picture was again inverted upon a table, to which it was firmly fixed down, and they afterwards proceeded to the separation of the wood on which the picture had been painted.

"The first operation was performed by means of two saws, the one of

a convex form, in the direction of its grain; this was applied obliquely upon the wood, so as to take off very small shavings, and to avoid raising the grain of the wood, which was reduced by this means to 1/100 of an inch thick.

"He took afterwards a flat-toothed plane, of which the effect is nearly similar to that of a rasp, which takes off the wood in form of a dust or powder: it was reduced by this tool to a thickness not exceeding that of an ordinary sheet of paper.

"In this state, the wood having been repeatedly wetted with fair water, in small compartments, was carefully detached by the artist with the rounded point of a knife blade. The citizen Hacquin having then taken away the whole of the priming on which the picture had been painted, and especially the varnishes, which some former reparations had made necessary, laid open the very sketch itself of Raffaello.

"In order to give some degree of suppleness to the painting, so much hardened by time, it was rubbed with cotton dipped in oil, and wiped with old muslin; after which, a coating of white lead, ground with oil, was substituted for the former priming, and laid on with a soft brush.

"After three months drying, a gauze was pasted on to the oil-priming, and over that a fine cloth. This being again dried, the picture

Vasari,¹ that Raffaello painted this picture upon canvas, so that none of those upon wood can pretend to pass for the original, which it is presumed, for this reason, must be that in the gallery of Florence.²

St. John is represented in this picture at the age of twelve or fifteen years. He is seen in front face, naked, except for the skin of a wild animal, which, from his left arm, passes behind him to his right thigh. Seated under rocks, on the margin of a fountain, his only seat is the trunk of an old tree, whence rises a branch, to which is fastened a kind of rustic cross, formed of reeds. To-

was detached from the table, and again turned, for the purpose of taking off the *cartonnage* by means of water; which operation being finished, they proceeded to take away certain inequalities of the surface, which had arisen from its unequal shrinking during the former operations. To this end, the artist applied successively to these inequalities a thin paste of wheaten flour, over which a strong paper being laid, he passed over it a heated iron, which produced the desired effect; but it was not until the most careful trial had been made of the due heat of the iron, that it was allowed to approach the picture.

"We have thus seen, that having fixed the picture, freed from every extraneous matter, upon an oil priming, and having given a true form to its surface, it yet remained to apply this *chef-d'œuvre* of art firmly upon a new ground. To this end, it was necessary to paper it afresh, and to take away the gauze, which had been provisionally laid upon the priming, to add a new coat of white lead and oil, and to apply upon that a very soft gauze, over which was again laid a cloth, woven all of one piece, and impregnated on the exterior surface with a resinous mixture, which served to fix it upon a similar cloth stretched upon the frame. This last operation required the utmost care, in applying to the prepared cloth the body of the painting, freed again from its *cartonnage*, in avoiding the injuries which might arise from too great or unequal an extension, and, at the same time, in obliging every part of its vast extent to adhere equally to the cloth stretched upon the frame.

"Thus was this valuable picture incorporated with a base more durable even than its former one, and guarded against those accidents which had before produced its decay."

¹ Vasari, *ib.* ii., p. 215.

² It is known that this picture, executed for cardinal Colonna, was given by him to Giacomo di Carpi, his physician, from whom it passed into the hands of Francesco Benintendi of Florence, and from him to the Medici Gallery, as is seen by its catalogue made in 1509. The canvas is five feet five inches by four feet seven inches and ten lines.

wards this symbol of the Redemption the young forerunner prophetically raises his hand, as if already pointing out the last mystery of the life of the Messiah, whom he will be charged to announce.

Although St. John is here represented under a juvenile form, the choice that Raffaello, probably for reasons connected with his art, made of this character of nature, has nothing inappropriate, and the age of the young prophet contradicts nothing of what we know of his calling. Destined to foretell the Messiah, John early retired into the desert, to sanctify his life by fasting and austerities. We may therefore fairly conceive and represent, that, quite a youth, he was filled with the prophetic spirit, which Raffaello has expressed the idea of by the action, as well as in the countenance of his personage.

In an artistic point of view, this figure of St. John offers one of the finest nude figures ever painted by Raffaello. There is a great deal of truth, of that truth which is termed *natural* as distinguished from *ideal truth*. Though in the design of the body, in the form of the figure, we find the style required by the subject, that is to say, the smooth outline of adolescence, we still feel that the intention of the painter was to express, by a certain development of the muscles, a nature of a rather wild character, suitable to the kind of life led by the young hermit.

The brilliant tone of the flesh, and the strong contrast of the shades, (we speak of the picture at Florence,) give a singular relief to this figure. The leg advanced, seems to come out of the canvas. The body, being seen in full front, as well as the head, whose eyes seem fixed upon those of the spectator, there are few figures whose image remains so profoundly impressed on the memory.

We have observed, that Raffaello has represented the young St. John in several ways. We may cite two other compositions upon the same subject, inferior, indeed, to the preceding. In one, the figure, of about the same age, is in like manner seated on the trunk of a tree, but in a much less noble attitude. The legs are separated in a manner to form one of those positions which, with the arm pointed to the cross, partake a little of what, in our artistic language,

is called a *pose academique*. The other St. John is upon a rock. One of his legs is drawn up behind the other. He is receiving in a shell, water which gushes from the mountain. This picture forms part of the collection at Dusseldorf. It is considered to have been executed by Andrea del Sarto.

About the same time, Raffaello painted for the monastery of St. Sixtus, at Piacenza, the picture for the high altar, in which, above, are the Virgin and Infant Jesus upon clouds, and below, St. Sixtus, on one side, and St. Barba on the other. Of all the figures of the Virgin his genius created, none was conceived in a fuller, and, if we may use the term, a more picturesque style. Few figures have been set forth in more charmingly arranged drapery; few hands present a more poetical effect, and nowhere do we see in greater perfection those characteristics of virginity and divine purity, of which Raffaello discovered and fixed the *ideal*. In considering this painting, nothing earthly mingles with the thought of the spectator, who sees in Mary only the glorified mother of the Saviour, in the splendour of wholly celestial beauty. It is from the midst of a heaven, filled with the heads of cherubim, that she appears to pope St. Sixtus and St. Barba, who are kneeling in the act of adoration.

We must further point out to admiration the two cherubim at the foot of the composition—marvels of colour, beauty, expression, and life, which absolutely seem coming out of the canvas, such salient relief has the painter given them.

It is with the history of Raffaello, when we seek to embrace the whole of his works, as with those universal histories which comprise so many regions at once, that the writer, whatever method he employs, is sometimes obliged to invert the order of times and even, to retrace his steps, and to resume a subject which he has been forced to leave behind, in order not too frequently to break up a series of objects naturally connected with one another.

Thus, having to consider Raffaello as an architect, we have thought it best to bring together in one view, and survey in succession the notices of his architectural pro-

ductions, instead of dispersing them amongst his other works.

We have already seen him, as successor of Bramante, in 1514, construct that court of the Vatican which he afterwards rendered so famous by the decoration of the *Loggie*. In now reviewing, without interruption, all the labours which have assigned him a distinguished rank in architecture, we shall remain faithful to the chronological order we have hitherto observed, since it is on the 1st of August, 1515, and the 27th of August, 1516, that are dated the briefs of Leo X., which nominated Raffaello director of the construction of St. Peter's, and superintendent of the ancient edifices of Rome.

We have hitherto contented ourselves with observing that Raffaello was at this time by no means a novice in architecture, or, at least, in the art of drawing it. This ability, which we admire even in his earliest pictures, was very general among the pupils of the school of Perugino. It is found, perhaps, in a more striking degree, in the schools of the preceding century; and the paintings of the *Campo Santo* at Pisa attest this.¹ In the age of Raffaello, and also in that which followed, the spirit of method and analysis had not isolated, by separate instruction, the exercise of each of the three arts of design. On the contrary, a common tie united them; and this tie, which now only exists in the abstract notions of theory, was then the study of drawing. It was thence architecture derived a knowledge of combination, of harmony, of proportions, of decoration, and of effect which apply as much to the construction of edifices as to that of the human body.

We might make a list far too extensive for our space, of celebrated painters and sculptors who have combined with their other merits the knowledge and talent of architecture. All the great artists of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, exercised, concurrently with their own peculiar art, that of architecture. But it will suffice to say that this art reckons among its most distinguished masters, Michel Angelo and Raffaello.

¹ See the *Recueil des Peintures du Campo Santo*.

Few pictures exhibit an architectural composition more noble, of a purer and more legitimate taste, than the School of Athens. What more than anything has given credit to the opinion advanced by Vasari,¹ that Bramante sketched for Raffaello the outline of this beautiful perspective is, that, in fact, the general arrangement of the whole a good deal resembles the plan and internal elevation of the church of St. Peter's. It is certain that, with some few differences required by the subject, we see there the interior of a great cupola, with pendentives in the centre of four arms: an idea at that time quite new, and the plan of which, known to Bramante, might have suggested the imitation to Raffaello.

But the back-grounds of most of his frescos in the Vatican, and those of his celebrated cartoons, of which we shall presently speak, have, without the aid of Bramante, enriched them with most beautiful architectural perspectives. No painter, except perhaps Nicolas Poussin, has varied with so much nobleness and gust those accessories of painting. It will suffice to cite the *Heliodorus*, the *Miracle of Bolsena*, the *Incendio del Borgo*, the *Apostles curing a Cripple*, *Paul and Barnabas at Lystra*, in order to be convinced that such back-grounds could only have been conceived or drawn by one possessing the most precise knowledge of architecture, of the Greek orders, and of the principles of mouldings.

We shall not, therefore, be surprised that, after the death of Bramante, Leo X. should, in pursuance of the dying wish of that architect, have nominated Raffaello to succeed him as chief director of the construction of St. Peter's. The brief of the pope is also founded upon the fact, that in the model already given by him for the edifice, he had justified the recommendation of Bramante. It runs thus:—

“Besides the art of painting, in which you are universally known to excel, you were, by the architect Bramante, equally esteemed for your knowledge in that profession; so that, when dying, he justly considered that to you

¹ Vasari, *Vit. de Bramante*, iii. p. 94.

might be confided the construction of that temple, which by him was begun in Rome to the prince of the apostles; and you have learnedly confirmed that opinion by the plan for that temple requested of you.¹ We, who have no greater desire than that the temple should be built with the greatest possible magnificence and despatch, do appoint you superintendent of that work, with the salary of three hundred golden crowns per annum (150*l*.²) out of the money laid aside for the said construction. And we order that you be paid punctually every month, or on your demand, the proportion due. We exhort you to undertake the charge of this work in such a manner, that in executing it you have due regard to your own reputation and good name, for which things the foundation must be laid in youth. Let your efforts correspond to our hope in you, to our paternal benevolence towards you, and, lastly, to the dignity and fame of that temple, ever the greatest in the whole world, and most holy; and to our devotion for the prince of the apostles! Rome, the 1st of August, the second year of our pontificate, 1515."³

We learn, further, from this brief, that our new architect of St. Peter's had already formed a definite plan for the construction of that edifice, with reference to which Bramante had left no fixed instructions. Nor had Raffaello merely arranged the general outlines or general plan; he had actually prepared a model of the whole. This is clearly intimated by the Latin text of the brief, which gives the word *forma*, and is confirmed still more positively by Raffaello's letter to Baldassare Castiglione. "Our holy father," says he, "has laid a great weight on

¹ From the letter of Raffaello to count Castiglione, it appears that the plan here alluded to was not a drawing, but a model.

² This sum would seem a very inadequate remuneration; but in our own country, a hundred and sixty years subsequent to this period, sir Christopher Wren did not receive more than 200*l*. per annum for the building of St. Paul's, which included draughts, models, making estimates and contracts, examining and adjusting all bills and accounts, with constant personal superintendence, and giving instructions to the artificers in every department. And his salary for building the parochial churches of London was 100*l*. per annum.—*Parentalia*, p. 344.

³ *Lettere Pittoriche*, vi. 14.

my shoulders by honouring me with the construction of St. Peter's. I hope I shall not sink under it. That which gives me somewhat of confidence, is that the model I have made pleases his holiness, and has the sanction of many men of good judgment. But I carry my views still higher; I would fain resuscitate the fine forms of the buildings of antiquity. Will my aspiring flight meet with the fate of Icarus? Vitruvius doubtless affords me great light, but not enough."

Raffaello, then, aimed at approximating, more nearly than had yet been done in modern times, to the gust and forms of Greek architecture. In Vitruvius he did not find wherewithal completely to satisfy the idea he had formed of the beautiful in architecture; his thoughts soared higher.

Nothing can better prove both the refinement of his taste and the penetration of his genius, than his judgment of Vitruvius, at that time the unquestioned oracle and guide of all architects. Informed by the exiles from Constantinople, who then sought refuge in Italy, that Greece still preserved many monuments of the palmy days of art, he at once instinctively understood what must be the superiority of these originals to the copies which ancient Rome had made of them, and he resolved, by new researches, to make himself acquainted with their beauties. For this purpose, while keeping able draughtsmen constantly at work in southern Italy, he sent others to Greece.¹

Knowing, as we do, the connexion of principles which necessarily causes the productions of every class of art to partake of a sort of community of style and taste, and considering how much more sensibly felt this effect must be, when these productions of various art emanate from the genius of one man, it is easy to conceive in how noble a shape architecture would have manifested itself in the temple of St. Peter's under the direction of Raffaello. This edifice, from its plan and its elevations, could doubtless have had nothing in common with the temples of

¹ Vasari, *Vita di Raff.*, ii. 204.

Greece; but who can say what compensation would not have accrued to the Christian cathedral from the chaste proportions, the simple details, the unflorid beauty of decoration of Raffaello? Who knows what purity of outline, what nobleness and grace, the ensemble would have acquired from the application of the theory of ancient art, such as Raffaello had conceived it? We cannot but lament that an edifice, which was to serve as a model of taste to all Europe, should not have been built after the designs of him, who, in another class of art, has never yet been equalled.

Vain regret! Not only has Raffaello's model of St. Peter's disappeared, but there remains of it only one drawing, for the preservation of which we are indebted to Serlio, in his *Architettura*, who confirms our statement, that Bramante died without having formed any definite project for its construction, and that it was Raffaello who designed the vast *ensemble* presented to us in the drawing referred to.

His plan is unquestionably the finest ever conceived in the system of modern churches. The reader is, perhaps, aware that Bramante, in his first conception, had contemplated, for the naves, an adaptation of the arrangement of the great arches in the ancient edifice called the Temple of Peace, and for the conjunction of the four naves, the construction and form of the Pantheon. Having to replace the old cathedral, whose columned naves were surmounted with a wooden roof, by an immense vaulted construction, it was necessary for him to substitute square pillars for the columns, and vast arcades for the system of plat-bands.

This character of edifice admitted, and so far Raffaello had no choice left him in the matter, all must agree that never had a plan been formed more simple yet more grand, more free and unconfined, and more perfectly harmonious in all its details than his. The disposition of what is called the Latin cross, is itself a tradition of the ancient cathedrals. As to the details of the plan, whoever examines them will find that there is not a single form of the circular portions, or of the apsis, or of the transepts, which is not an imitation of the interior of the Pantheon, or some other ancient monument.

This is not the place to examine the reasons which subsequently induced the architects to strengthen, and consequently to increase the size of the supporters of the cupola, necessitating commensurate enlargement of the square pillars of the nave. If we consider in itself the arrangement of the ensemble as fixed by Raffaello, admitting that the masses of his plan were at the time in just proportion with the elevation to which they were to correspond—of this, however, we know nothing—we cannot but allow this proposed construction to be so superior to that carried into effect, as to give occasion for permanent regret that it was abandoned.

Another of Raffaello's compositions experienced the same fate. Towards the close of November, 1515, Leo X. made a solemn entry into Florence, on which occasion Antonio San Gallo revived in architectural pomp and decorations the luxurious magnificence of the ancient Romans. The pope had brought with him Michel Angelo and Raffaello, in order to obtain from each a design for the grand façade, with which he proposed to adorn the church of St. Lorenzo. The intention was not carried into effect, but it appears that Raffaello designed a beautiful composition, which Algarotti tells us he saw the drawing of in the collection of baron Von Stosch, who permitted him to copy it.¹

It was during this fourth visit of Raffaello to Florence that he is supposed to have completed the *Holy Family*, already described. It is supposed, also, that at the same period, he entered into his second engagement to execute the promised picture of the *Assumption*, for the monastery of Monteluce.

But it was undoubtedly at this time that Raffaello had occasion to draw up the plans and designs for the two beautiful palaces which Florence ranks in the number of her most precious architectural monuments.

The *Palazzo degl' Uguccioni*, on the Piazza di Granduca, has been attributed by some to Michel Angelo. It does not require eyes very practised in discerning the

¹ Comolli, *Vita*, 72.

manner of each master to recognise, first, that the taste or style of design of this palace is precisely identical with that of the other palaces confessedly and without dispute the work of Raffaello; secondly, that the sort of stamp (if we may so term it) which so manifestly distinguishes the architecture of Michel Angelo, is not visible here. Every one knows the capricious ornamental details which were peculiar to him, and which still serve to identify the works of his school.

The façade of the palace in question¹ presents, within a limited space, an ensemble at once grand and rich, simple and varied. Upon a rustic base, composed of three arcades, there arise two stories, or rows of coupled columns. The principal story has a *ringhiera*, or continuous balcony, whose double balustrades are sculptured and ornamented with foliage. The order of the first story is Ionic; that of the second, Corinthian. Bramante and Raffaello were much in the habit of coupling columns

We admire still more the *Pandolfini* palace² at Florence, built after the design of Raffaello, in the Strada San Gallo. There is not in architecture a palatial design more noble, of a purer style, of a more judicious distribution. Neither Baldassare Peruzzi, nor San Gallo, nor Palladio, ever produced a finer work, grander in its whole, more beautiful in its details, more elegant in its proportions. The entablature of this palace is cited among the most classical of models, in the collection of the most beautiful buildings of Florence by Ruggieri.³

Had Raffaello lived longer, Rome doubtless would have shown many more monuments of his genius in architecture than it now possesses. One cannot but be surprised, however, that amidst so many and such important works, he had yet sufficient leisure to affix his name to works unimportant, if you will, but of a taste and merit which must ever place him in the first rank of the masters of the art.

Vasari does not very clearly explain whether the palace

¹ Ruggieri, i. 71.

² *Architecture de la Toscane*. (Famin et Granjean, pl. 33.)

³ See Ruggieri, *Scelta d'Architet.*

which Raffaello¹ occupied in the *Borgo Nuovo*, and which was destroyed to make room for the colonnades of the piazza San Pietro, was of his own design or that of Bramante, who constructed it about the year 1513. He had already attained that degree of fortune and celebrity which permitted him the sort of external distinction immemorially attached in Italy to the possession of a palace fit to perpetuate the name of a family. It was, in fact, to leave a monument of himself,² *per lasciar memoria di se*, that he built the palace whose design has come down to us,³ and which Vasari has twice mentioned—once in the life of Raffaello, and again in that of Bramante. But in both passages, Bramante is only mentioned as the builder, and as having employed a new process, which consisted in moulding, in some way or other, the decorative portions which stood out in relief.⁴ Bramante, charged with numerous and great undertakings, had at his disposition all the mechanical means of building, which, especially at that time, were beyond the reach of Raffaello. The latter therefore might invent and produce the plans, the elevations, and the ornamental details of his palace, relying on the friendship of Bramante for the construction.

What strengthens this supposition is that, on the one hand, we do not recognise in the style of this architecture either the somewhat meagre outlines of Bramante, or a certain coldness produced by the inadequate relief he gave to his works; and, on the other hand, we fancy we see in the elegant façade the same taste in the windows as in the *Pandolfini* palace. For the rest, the arms of Leo X., whose escutcheon surmounts the middle window, would indicate that this palace was not finished until his pontificate. The drawing that remains of it does not enable us to understand whether all the portraits which ornament this façade are portraits of popes. If so,

¹ Vasari, *Vit. di Raff.*, 197.

² Ibid

³ *Raccolta di palazzi di Roma da Giovan. de Rossi*, pl. 15.

⁴ *Invenzione nuova del fare ne cose gettate*. Vasari, *Vit. di Bramante*, iii. 95. *Fecce condurre di getto, etc.* Vasari, *Vit. di Raffaello*, iii. 197

it may be presumed that they were those of the pontiffs under whose reign Raffaello had lived.

The identity of taste and thought which was established in painting between Raffaello and Giulio Romano, despite the known diversity of their manner of operating and of colouring, often prevents us from distinguishing with certainty the part of the master and that of the pupil. This must be still more the case with regard to architectural works. The same cause must have produced the same confusion; it arose even in their own time. Already contemporary criticism attributed indifferently to one or to the other certain monuments which, in fact, were the productions of one sole genius. If we believe Vasari,¹ the charming edifice at Rome, first called *Villa del Papa*, and now *Villa Madama*, is after Raffaello's designs. This is also the opinion of Piacenza,² who, however, thinks that Giulio Romano had a share in it; which is true with regard to the execution of the ornaments and painting.

There is equal uncertainty as to some other small palaces, chefs-d'œuvre of grace and taste, truly classical edifices, that in Rome would be taken for habitations of ancient Romans which time had forgotten to destroy. We can only thus indicate them to connoisseurs, for they have passed through so many hands, that we know not who possesses them now. There is nothing to prevent us from attributing them to Giulio Romano; and we may do so without prejudice to Raffaello, since, in this class of art, the pupil is also the work of the master.

A small building which is admitted to be the work of the latter, is the Stables of Agostino Chigi, at Longara. What adds to the effect of the taste and style of its elevation is that it faces and serves as a companion piece to one of the most elegant edifices of Baldassare Peruzzi (the Farnesina), so that we might take the two buildings for the work of the same author.

At Rome, they generally cite as at once the most authentic and most important architectural production of Raffaello, a large palace, which we cannot designate by the name of

¹ Vasari, ib., p. 207.

² Baldizucci, ii. 350, n. 4.

the proprietor,¹ but which, built for Giovanni d'Aguilar, stands opposite the church of *Sant' Andrea della Valle*.² Its façade, of exquisite distribution, is composed of a line of twelve windows, the piers of which are ornamented with doubled Doric columns, forming the principal story, and surmounted by a very beautiful entablature with triglyphs and metopes. We cannot imagine a better proportioned basement, and of a better effect than that which forms the lower part of this palace. Embossments are employed here in great variety, and so as to make them convey the idea of strength, without any suggestion of heaviness.

In the church of *Santa Maria del Popolo*, at Rome, there is a beautiful chapel with a cupola, belonging to Agostino Clugi, and which is generally allowed to be an architectural production of Raffaello. Some writers go further: they insist that he was the author of the cartoons from which Sebastiano del Piombo executed the frescos that ornament the chapel, and they also attribute to him a share in its sculptures—that is, either in their invention or in their direction.³ That in which all are agreed, in seeing this chapel, is, that if the hand of Raffaello is nowhere seen there with a distinctness which permits us to adopt these views, there is manifested so much of his taste as to make it difficult to dispute them entirely.

No one would deny, for example, that the elegant and graceful statue of Jonas, which occupies one of the four niches in this chapel, may have received from Raffaello himself, as is asserted, either in the shape of a model, or in the exquisitely soft finish of its beautiful marble,⁴ a grace of outline, a *morbidezza* of execution very peculiar for that period, and, especially in the head, an imitation of the antique which no sculptor then exhibited.

We have no proof that Raffaello personally handled the

¹ We find that this palace has been called *Coltrotini*, then *Caffarelli*, and afterwards *Stoppani*.

² *Palazzi di Roma da Giov. de Rossi*, pl. 17.

³ Comolli, *Vita inedita*, p. 74.

⁴ This marble was part of a cornice which fell from the temple of Castor and Pollux, in the *Forum Romanum*, (Carlo Fea, *Notizie intorno Raffaello*.)

chisel, or made the model for any statue. Yet, if following one tradition,¹ we might be authorized in admitting this, the statue of Jonas would be the work best adapted to give probability to this opinion. Let us add, that Lorenzo Lotti, called Lorenzetto,² was a pupil of Raffaello, and that the statue of the Virgin in the Pantheon, of which we shall see he was the author, in pursuance of the will of his master, has nothing which, in style and taste, equals the merit of the Jonas. At all events, if the opinion upon which we are in suspense has come down to our day, it is, we must admit, because there is in the work itself something which forbids us to regard it as improbable.

The history of the fine arts in Italy, at this period, has produced too many men of universal talent, to leave a doubt as to the facility with which Raffaello might have exercised each of the arts of design, had he been granted a longer career. Michel Angelo began by being a sculptor. He would not, perhaps, have aimed at anything else, had he followed his own inclination; but he also devoted himself to drawing, and acquired in it an extraordinary skill. Thenceforward, he was employed in everything; he was military and civil engineer, architect, and in the end, and despite of himself, he was a painter. Who knows but that Raffaello might have aspired to rival Michel Angelo in sculpture. We may well believe, from his style of drawing, that his style of sculpture would have far more nearly resembled the antique, than did that of the statues of Michel Angelo. He, in fact, touched upon none of the subsidiaries which enter into the so varied domain of the arts of design, without reproducing, with the principles, the gust of the Greek schools, those accurate forms, that purity of taste, that grace and elegance which have been the privilege of so few periods of art, and which, perhaps, as it happens with certain rare and delicate plants, only bloom at very long intervals.

Raffaello diffused the spirit of these beautiful traditions, either by his direct action, or by an indirect influence, over the greatest, as over the smallest, works; in the design of

¹ Comolli, *Vita inedita*, p. 77.

Ib. p. 98.

the general plan of St. Peter's, as in the style of the most modest constructions; in the highest enterprises of painting, as in those trifles from which it is pretended the manufactory of the Faenza Vases derived their outlines and ornaments. In a word, everything that more or less positively underwent the contact of his taste or his direction, has become classical, has remained a model in its kind, has never yet been equalled. The wooden gates of the halls and *loggie* of the Vatican, which he executed by the hands of Giovanni Barile,¹ have remained the great masterpieces of ornamental wood work. The pavement of the gallery of the *loggie*, the work of Luca della Robbia,² offered, before the injuries which time caused them, the richest and most varied compartments imaginable. What new wonders might not have been produced in the Vatican by that great school of Raffaello, nominated superintendent of all the works of this palace, if greater length of days had been granted him, when the single gallery of the *loggie* presents so many remarkable objects of admiration!

Vasari has spoken much too briefly of this great work of the *Loggie*, of which we have as yet only described the decorative portion, that which Raffaello adopted from the models of antiquity, and to which the moderns have given the name of arabesque.

But the same gallery owes to him a still greater celebrity, from that inestimable series of fresco paintings, four and four, in the compartments of the small ceilings between each beam, and which comprise, in fifty-two subjects, the history of the Old Testament, and is accordingly called Raffaello's Bible.

The choice of some of the subjects of this beautiful series seems to leave no doubt as to the intention which dictated it, and of the spirit of rivalry which necessarily existed between Raffaello and Michel Angelo. Nor can anything be better calculated to exhibit the fallacy of some critics, that an artist cannot derive benefit from the work of another, without actually borrowing from him and co without ceasing to be original.

¹ Vasari, *ib.* p. 206.

² *ib.*

Michel Angelo, independently of the enormous learning of his drawings, had doubtless astonished men by the grandeur and daring of some of his conceptions in the ceilings of the Sistine chapel, where he ventured to become the painter of the Creation, and to rival the text of Genesis in the description of its marvels. Now, it is difficult not to believe that here, also, Raffaello had Michel Angelo and the Sistine chapel in view, by taking similar subjects as his themes in the *Loggie*. Such, for example, are those where, reproducing the same ideas in his own manner, he painted the Eternal Being creating light, dispersing chaos, hurling, with each hand, into space, the sun and the moon, forming the earth and its inhabitants, animating man with his breath, and ordaining woman to be an inseparable part of him.

There is not, indeed, any comparison to be drawn between the works of the two painters, if we consider the difference of dimension which each locality prescribed to its artist. Michel Angelo, in the vast spaces he had to fill, could not be otherwise than colossal in his productions. Raffaello, confined by his site, could only give to his compositions the dimensions of easel pieces. But there is in painting a sort of grandeur which cannot be measured by the compass, and whose limits no comparison can fix. On this principle, we may say that Michel Angelo never produced anything so great in thought, character, and action as the figure of the Eternal Father dispersing chaos; and it is by this kind of grandeur that Raffaello has shown himself superior to his rival in all the subjects which, after his example, he has taken from the Bible.

When men speak of what Raffaello owed to Michel Angelo, they do not adduce any real or positive evidence of the alleged debt. When, therefore, we admit in this place, as we have admitted before, that he owed to Michel Angelo an enlargement of his manner, nothing is to be understood from this, but that Michel Angelo, by his works, acted as that exalted stimulant which, in everything, incites great men to equal and surpass the great men who have preceded them.

If Raffaello seemed to have raised himself by the exam-

ple, and from seeing the works of Michel Angelo, it was not that factitious and borrowed height, which makes itself a pedestal of the knowledge of another. The increase of all the qualities developed in him was, on the contrary, similar in its nature to that which takes place in all men endowed with that faculty. I compare Raffaello to one of those trees, the privileged children of the forest, which appropriate to themselves all the juices of a favourable soil, all the favours of heaven, and profit by all the influences that surround them, but which also find in their own sap the virtue which makes them grow, ramify, and extend without limit.

The series of fifty-two subjects from the Bible and New Testament, is one of those of which language must leave the description to that art which can multiply descriptions of the work itself. It is, therefore, to the collections published by two engravers, one an Italian, the other a Frenchman, that we must address those who would form an idea from this series, of the fertility of Raffaello's genius. Here they will admire that property which he possessed of stamping each of his compositions with what, morally speaking, is called the *local colouring* of each class of subjects, considered in its relation to the special character of time and place. What we can never weary of admiring in reading, so to speak, this translation by figures, of the chapters of the Bible, is that image, as great as it is true, of the manners of the first age of the world and of the patriarchal life; that ideal of another kind of poetry, not that of the Greek Parnassus, but that of which the chief of the Hebrews received the inspiration upon Mount Sinai.

We have already observed, in citing the four first subjects of this series, that Raffaello here borrowed nothing from Michel Angelo. In the two next, which represent the disobedience of Adam, or the temptation of Eve, and their expulsion from the terrestrial paradise, we find, on the contrary, manifest adoptions from Masaccio. It will be recollected, that at Florence Raffaello studied the works of this ancient painter in the chapel *del Carmine*. Masaccio was, in his time, one of those men who are in all

vance of their age. He had already amplitude and *number* in his compositions, a feeling of true expression, *naïveté* of style, and drawing which only wanted that learning which gives boldness. Masaccio, in the paintings of his chapel, had treated the two subjects referred to. It may be curious to draw a comparison between them and those of the *Loggie* by Raffaello, who will still gain **by the investigation**, both when he follows and when he quits the footsteps of his predecessor.

The subject of the Disobedience or the Forbidden Fruit, with Masaccio, has all the simplicity of the school of his time, all the unmeaningness of an art still held in check by the timidity of his age. Raffaello seems to have applied himself to establishing the most striking contrast possible between his manner of treating the subject and that of Masaccio, such movement and variety are there in the development of his compositions. Not that he failed to evidence at once his judgment and his good faith in his appreciation of Masaccio's productions. He highly admired the second of these, the Expulsion from Eden, and retained a valuable reminiscence of it. It was, indeed, impossible to conceive and compose in a more effective manner than Masaccio, the group of Adam and Eve pursued by the Sword of the Angel. The varieties of grief in the man and the woman are rendered by action as noble as it is touching. Adam buries his face in both hands; his confusion is, as it were, the veil which the artist has thrown over the expression of his despair. Repentance manifests itself in the whole attitude of Eve; in her countenance, and, above all, in her eyes, which seem humbly imploring the pardon of the Most High.

Raffaello has copied the whole of this group from the picture of Masaccio, and herein he has done well. When a fine thought has once been stamped by the hand of genius, there is genius also in not seeking to give it a new impress. In our opinion, there is more merit in thus openly proclaiming one's debt to another, than in disguising the borrowed features under some evasive variations. We are, indeed, disposed to regard this adoption on the part of Raffaello, as a public testimony of the gratitude

which he felt towards Masaccio. Gratitude was a distinguishing feature in his character; we have seen him placing in his pictures, close to his own portrait, that of his old master, as an undying acknowledgment to him for his early care.

In what manner shall we now proceed? Can we mention, without describing, the many beautiful compositions not yet noticed? or shall we select a few among them, whereon to fix the reader's attention? But are there, in that amazing series of pictures, which succeeded each other, so numerous and so various, any that we can recommend as more worthy of admiration than the rest?

The Deluge is not the least remarkable among them, for its general effect and the infinite diversity of the details, which admirably depict, though in so limited a space, all the horrors of the scourge under which the human race is about to succumb. We see in the fore-ground, a father disputing with the constantly augmenting inundation the life of his two sons; a husband raising with difficulty his arms an already expiring wife. On the summit of adjacent hill, a group of fugitives think they have found an asylum under a tent—futile defence against the waves which are about to invade them! The miraculous ark occupies the back-ground of the picture; around it panic-struck multitude are in vain imploring the mercy of that Heaven whose anger is let loose against the earth.

There are few happier or more effective compositions than that of Abraham with the Three Angels. Raffaello seems to have had the very instinct of scriptural costume. There is in these disguised angels a certain character of elegance wholly different from that of the Greek figures. The celestial messengers, in assuming the human form, would naturally put on the outward appearance of the people of the country whither their mission was, and accordingly, their apparel at once informs the spectator that the scene is in Palestine.

A portion of the history of Joseph has been related by Raffaello in four subjects, distinguished, two of them by the fulness, two by the concision of their composition. We cannot mention one more abundant in personages, or more

absolutely teeming with expression, than that in which Joseph is relating to his brethren the dream prognosticating his future elevation. In the various groups of his auditors, we discern by the gestures and physiognomies the envious passions, the revengeful projects already forming in their hearts.

The picture of Joseph interpreting the dreams before Pharaoh, would of itself suffice to place Raffaello at the head of all painters, in point of composition. There is in painting, as in poetry, a certain laconism of description which has the property of suggesting the more to the thought the less it says. The subject before us has this merit. We see in it, so to speak, only Pharaoh and Joseph. The accessory personages play no part in the scene, and are there merely as a matter of form. But how unlimited the range given to the spectator's imagination, by the simple attitude of Joseph, in his gesture, in that physiognomy in whose every line inspiration is depicted! We read in his whole person the virtue of the heavenly divination, the effect of which communicates itself to the king in a visible manner. The most expressive action, expressive from the very absence of all movement, manifests the profound meditation which absorbs him. The forefinger of his right hand, which he puts on his lips, is the sign of attention. We are shown, by the position of his other hand and of his fingers, that the king is reckoning with the interpreter, the years of plenty and scarcity, in their relation with what he has seen in his dream.

The history relating to Moses comprehends eight pictures, a selection of the most striking events in the life of the Hebrew legislator. The first of all is that where we see him, an infant in the cradle, saved from the waters of the Nile, and received by the daughter of Pharaoh. If we prefer dwelling upon this subject, it is because this is one of those, among others of this series, where we remark the art of landscape painting beginning to be developed in a then novel manner. Before Raffaello, they sketched, indeed, but scarcely can be said to have painted, landscape back-grounds in their historical compositions. **At least it must be allowed that they painted them without imitative**

harmony; all the magic of perspective being confined to the diminution of bodies and to softening off the lines. The picture of Moses Saved from the Water presents freshness of tone, gradation of tints, and truth in the colour of the waters of the Nile; all these qualities were then uncommon, because landscape painting not having then become a class of itself, it was only considered as a very secondary accessory in historical compositions.

The events relating to the history of Saul, David, and Solomon, in this gallery of sacred subjects, are not those which least claim the attention of the spectator. But the writer who describes to the mind that which is intended to reach it through the medium of the eyes, should be careful not to fatigue his reader by an enumeration of details, always too long for him who knows the works, and still more tedious for him who has not seen the paintings to which they apply.

If obliged to make a choice, the writer should prefer those whose subjects can best be described, whether to the memory or to the mind, and such subjects will be those where the mind of the painter himself will have most exhibited the resources of his art, that is to say, those of an eloquent action. Such, among others, is the picture of the Judgment of Solomon. This subject has been repeatedly treated since Raffaello, and by very able pencils. No painter, however, not excepting Nicolas Poussin, has given a clearer exposition of it, or better explained to the eye the object of the dispute, the aim of the judge's decision, and the diversity of the passions which animate each of the two parties. In the action and attitude of the mothers there is an obviousness of action, which shows the cause of their dispute, and that with a precision which language itself could scarcely equal.

Four other subjects, taken from the New Testament, complete this numerous series of compositions; namely, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Shepherds, the Baptism of Jesus Christ, and the Last Supper.

Raffaello in the last subject has, like Leonardo da Vinci did before him, chosen the moment when Jesus Christ announces that one among his disciples shall betray him.

We see at once that the chief difficulty of a composition which requires thirteen people to be represented at table must be to dispose them in such a manner as to form an ensemble at once picturesque and probable. Leonardo da Vinci, in ranging them in one line, according to an agreement perhaps more favourable to art than conformable to usage, contrived, with great skill and by the power of an expressive pencil, to throw some variety into the naturally monotonous disposition. The composition of Raffaello represents his personages ranged round a square table, seen cornerwise. There is some ingenuity in this arrangement, which, however, has not obviated the necessary inconvenience of giving many of the guests with their backs towards the spectator; perhaps it may be said that the conquering this difficulty has introduced rather complication than variety into the picture. There is another composition upon this subject, engraved by Marc Antonio from a drawing of Raffaello, in which he has returned to the plan adopted by Leonardo da Vinci, at once more simple and more favourable to the rules of painting.

The reader must perceive what rich matter is offered to a learned criticism of the art by a collection of these fifty-two pictures of Raffaello. But he will also see that we are necessitated, in a general history, to abridge the mention of certain series which might each form matter for a separate work. Now, we shall be the first to acknowledge that this must necessarily apply to the paintings of the *Loggie*. It is here, for example, that Raffaello certainly and necessarily employed the first talents of his school. It is here also that it would be curious to apply, by a learned analysis, the discernment which the practised glance of an artist can form of the different manners which, in accordance with historical traditions, would reveal the names of those who co-operated in this great enterprise.

Thus it is known¹ that Raffaello himself entirely painted the first of these subjects, the Creation. This was a sort of normal model given to his pupils in the execution of his designs, the work of which he contented himself with

¹ Lanzi, *Stor. Pittor.* ii. 66.

either directing, retouching, or distributing. Vasari tells us that Giulio Romano was specially charged with the pictures representing the creation of Adam and Eve,¹ that of the Animals, the Construction of the Ark, the Sacrifice upon leaving the Ark, and many others.

We shall terminate this article by a general reflexion upon the manner in which we should judge of the compositions of the pictures of the *Loggie*, and appreciate their merit, by comparison with those of some other masters who, as Nicolas Poussin, have devoted themselves to the composition of similar subjects, and generally in the same dimension—that is to say, that of *easel pictures*.

There is a consideration which we should not lose sight of in this comparison: it is that of the conditions to which the execution of these works must have been subjected, and consequently the different positions in which their author must have found himself, according to the part they were called upon to play. In fact, the condition which imposes upon talent the sole subject upon which it is to occupy its leisure, without the mind being bound to divide itself between the combinations of a long series of various subjects, is one thing; and that of the artist whose talent must embrace a numerous succession of historical events, more or less connected among themselves, whether in idea or in fact, and which consequently oblige his pencil and his imagination to distribute themselves over a great number of points, is another.

The latter seems to us to be in the position of the author of a poem divided into a large number of cantos. Carried away by the diversity of their scenes, both his verses and his style soar freely at the will of a more or less vivid inspiration. The other will resemble a versifier, who, in the limited extent of an isolated piece, delights to include everything, to attend to every thought, every detail, every expression. There cannot be a doubt but that the liberty which constitutes the charm of the one, with the other will become negligence, and, *vice versa*, the care which on the one side were perfection, on the other would become constraint and coldness.

¹ Vasari, *Vit. di Giul.* iv. 327

We think that the same difference of condition and merit must be seen between Raffaello improvising, if we may so term it, in all the freedom of genius, that long series of compositions, and Poussin meditating at full leisure, and painting at full leisure some few of these subjects. In the latter, all, doubtless, is fine, noble, judicious, correct, both to the eye of reason and to that of taste; but there is, over all, an air of studied arrangement, of calculation in composition. With Raffaello, every subject seems to have been conceived and thrown off in the energy of a first impulse; the image presented to us seems to have issued completely formed in his imagination; everything there seems to have been found without having been sought.

Is not this the same difference which, in the analysis of works of genius, we make between that which is called *to create* and that which is called *to produce*? The action of creation necessarily involves the idea of something sudden, off-hand; the idea of production is that of an action, the result of time.

There was at this time in Rome a celebrated amateur, whose name has been already mentioned more than once, and who well merits a distinct place in the history of Raffaello; we speak of Agostino Chigi, a native of Siena. Business frequently calling him to Rome, he ultimately fixed his residence there. He was considered the richest merchant in Italy.¹ We may judge of the extent of his commercial relations from the protests he addressed to the court of France on the subject of a number of vessels of his that had been seized, when war broke out between Louis XII. and Julius II.; his wealth was principally derived, it is said, from the salt and alum mines which he farmed of the Holy See. No rich man ever made more noble use of his fortune. Agostino Chigi might have lavished it in vain ostentation, but his taste, guiding a more laudable ambition, directed him to the intellectual delights procured him by the works of genius, and the friendship of the most celebrated artists. He owed it to

¹ See "Bogue's European Library," Life of Leo X., i. 296; 344; ii. 396.

this noble feeling that his name has become associated with theirs, and that his memory will go down to posterity in immediate connexion with their masterpieces, a glorious meed.

We are indebted to Agostino Chigi, and to his friendship with Raffaello, for the beautiful Prophets and Sybils in the church of Santa Maria della Pace, and the exquisite chapel of Santa Maria del Popolo, which he destined for his place of sepulture. Here Raffaello was to have executed a mausoleum on a grand scale of beauty and magnificence, which, however, was never completed. Of this the Jonas, already mentioned, and its companion statue of the prophet Elias are detached portions.

The usages of Italy presented to him another noble employment for his wealth, in a class of magnificence of which in more modern times we see very little, and that little on a far less extensive and costly scale, but which, in the age of Raffaello, greatly promoted the success of the arts. Architecture, in fact, has necessarily the other arts in its train; when it is itself favoured by the manners of a country, it promotes, in its turn, the other great arts of embellishment which depend upon it, and upon which it is reciprocally dependent.

There was at this period no head of a noble or wealthy family, who had not the ambition to transmit to future ages a durable monument of his own transitory existence. This monument took the form of a palace or mansion, to the architecture of which they devoted those sums which, elsewhere and in other times, the wealthy, for the most part, lavish in ephemeral superfluities. To carve his name over the door of his house, with the date of its construction, was with the higher class Italian of that period equivalent to a sort of entail, securing the perpetuity of a property in a family. It is this custom which enables us still at once to find out, in most of the towns of Italy, the houses, more or less sumptuous, which, centuries ago, were honoured in being the habitations of men who, in various ways, rendered themselves illustrious.

It was thus that Agostino Chigi desired to perpetuate, in a palace which should manifest his passion for the arts,

both his name and that reputation of a man of taste, which posterity has since thoroughly accorded him.

Having purchased a favourable site in the Transtevere quarter, he selected the celebrated Baldassare Peruzzi of Siena, to raise for him on this spot a mansion more remarkable for the elegance of its architecture than for its massiveness of dimension. To name Baldassare Peruzzi is at once to recal the idea of that charming style of domestic construction, to which, as we have observed, the study of the antique had also directed the tasteful mind of Raffaello. Peruzzi was the Raffaello of architecture. No one ever exhibited greater genius than he in adapting the style and traditions of ancient architecture to the requirements of modern constructions. The character of his edifices is so closely identified with what remains to us in this class of the antique, that nothing is wanting to it but the effect of time. A native of old Rome, were he to resort to the eternal city, might wander through its streets and never imagine himself at home, until he came to one of the houses built by Peruzzi, and more especially that of Agostino Chigi. Here, perhaps, he might, in viewing the charming vestibules, doubt whether antique Rome ever produced anything so beautiful. Never was painting so lavish of its beauties in the simple *Atrium* of a palace.

It was Agostino Chigi's great design to collect together, in his abode, all that the genius of art could then produce most excellent in its various branches. He summoned from Venice Sebastian del Piombo, renowned for his colouring, who executed several subjects in the palace, the gust of which, however, bore no comparison with those of the works which emanated from the School of Raffaello.¹ It would appear to have been the desire of Chigi to confide to Raffaello alone the decoration of the interior and the general embellishments, and this seems proved from the ornaments, some executed, some incomplete, on the ground floor. Besides the Loggia, a vestibule or portico of five arcades, on which are represented the

¹ Vasari, *Vita di Seb.*, iv. 361.

Fable of Psyche, there is also a gallery of corresponding length, constructed by the architect to receive a series of paintings in the compartments, which are of moderate dimensions. Only one of these pictures was executed, that representing the Triumph of Galatea, already mentioned.

Raffaello's letter to Castiglione, to which we have twice referred, informs us that this work was terminated before the Fable of Psyche, the execution of which, several times interrupted, was not completed in some of its details, at the time of Raffaello's death. As in this letter he mentions that the pope has just appointed him architect of St. Peter's, which took place in 1515, we feel ourselves authorized in assigning the Galatea to the year 1514, and to the second manner of the painter, as, indeed, its style clearly indicates.

The palace of Agostino Chigi, now called *La Farnesina*, having been wholly completed before this period, it seems probable that the designs for its decoration occupied the pencil of Raffaello sometime before he set about the actual work. May we not then assign to the same period, that numerous series of designs engraved by Marc Antonio, and which are a sort of pictorial translation of the Golden Ass of Apuleius? It then becomes a question whether Raffaello, though he may have had some acquaintance with the Latin, as would indeed appear manifest from the study we know him to have made of Vitruvius, can have become so thoroughly versed in all the exquisite imaginings of the Latin romance writer, without the aid of some of the celebrated men of letters of his time, at the head of whom was Baldassare Castiglione, who, it is extremely probable, selected and translated from the tale of Apuleius various leading subjects for the pencil of the artist.

It is not then at all improbable that a passage in Raffaello's letter to Castiglione referred to this series of designs which the learned scholar had suggested to the painter. "I have," says Raffaello, "executed in more than one manner the designs of the subjects you proposed to me. I am told that they have obtained general approbation. For myself I am very chary of trusting to my own judg-

ment; I fear much that I shall not satisfy yours. I send them to you; select such, if such there be, as seem to merit your choice, &c."

This passage indicates, as the two series of subjects of the Fable of Psyche prove to us, that Raffaello had composed several of these subjects in more than one manner, and, in fact, some of the compositions painted at the Farnesina, and of which we shall give a description, are, with a few variations, the repetition of drawn and engraved compositions. Such are those of Venus with Jupiter, of Jupiter embracing Love, of Mercury convoking the Court of Olympus, of the Council and Banquet of the Gods. This first series of subjects, then, gave birth to the second, become much more celebrated.

Thus Raffaello composed, in fact, two histories of Psyche. In the series of which Marc Antonio or his pupils have preserved the idea, each of the adventures of the narration is represented after Apuleius, almost page for page. But the spaces which the tale of the Palace of Farnesina presented to the painter, did not enable him to follow so regular an order.

Painting has not, however, lost any thing by this circumstance. The conceptions are of a still more poetical order, and never has the painter's genius so measured its strength in any work with that of the poet, as to render the superiority of one art over the other so much a matter of doubt. We must call this ensemble of decoration by its true name; it is a poem, entitled, *Cupid and Psyche*.

Three kinds of spaces, of various forms, presented themselves, in the site it was necessary to decorate, to the combinations of the pencil: 1. the lunettes between the arches dividing the construction all round; 2, the feet of these arches; 3, the general ceiling.

It was in the spaces between the arches that Raffaello introduced the charming allegories of the Power of Love, conqueror of all the gods. These airy ideas are often met with among the playful elegancies of antique arabesque, whence, very probably, Raffaello took the general theme of this sort of invention; but nowhere have they occupied with so much variety, nor in such dimensions, or

in so ingenious a manner, the mind and pencil of the decorator; nowhere has modern genius reproduced them with such success. And never, since Raffaello, have these allegories, so frequently repeated, found under any other pencil the poetical spirit and ideal charm which he threw over them.

Each of the fourteen lunettes has one, and some of them two winged Cupids, seizing and carrying away as trophies the arms or attributes of one of the twelve chief gods. These little ministers of Love exult over their disarmed enemies. They play with the thunder of Jupiter, the trident of Neptune, the club of Hercules, the lance and buckler of Mars. Their humorous attitudes, their mocking physiognomies, are the sensible expression of the power of the pitiless god, who wounds in playing with his victims, and laughs at the wounds. It is thought that Tasso had these paintings before his mind's eye when he wrote the verses of the *Aminta*, upon the power of Love:—

“ Che fa spesso cader di mano a Marte,
La sanguinosa spada, ed a Nettuno
Scuotitor della terra il gran tridente,
Ed il folgore eterno al sommo Giove.”

Various events in the Fable of Cupid and Psyche occupy the *pendants*, or feet of the arches.

Their terminations are hidden under festoons, and varied branches of flowers, fruits, and plants, the faithful and exquisite work of which is due to the pencil of Giovanni da Udine.

Upon these triangular grounds, Raffaello has represented, in groups full of charm and expression, some of the principal events in the romance of Apuleius. We see Venus ordering her son to revenge her upon Psyche;—Psyche giving to astonished Venus the box which she had commanded her to steal from Proserpine;—Cupid showing the object of his passion to the Graces;—the rage of Venus against Juno and Ceres for protecting Psyche;—Venus upon her car, drawn by doves, ascending to heaven to demand justice from the king of the gods;—Venus with

Jupiter;—Psyche conveying to Venus the phial of water from the Styx;—Cupid receiving from Jupiter, who embraces him, the pledge of his protection against the rigour of Venus;—Mercury sent by Jupiter, traversing the air to convoke the council of the gods;—lastly, Psyche transported to Olympus by Mercury.

Of these ten subjects, eight present groups of two, three, and even four figures, so ingeniously adapted to the irregular and limited place they occupy, that not one appears constrained, and the spectator feels no desire that the field should be larger. All stand out, as in the rest of the pictures, upon a blue ground, the subjects being all supposed to be in the air, or reposing upon the clouds. It is generally believed that these frescoes, owing to some alterations, were obliged to undergo a restoration, intrusted to Carlo Maratti, to whom we are thus indebted for preserving Raffaello's work. But it appears that the operation has injured the harmony of the whole series, and Maratti is greatly blamed for the fault now observable in the ground, which has become too deep and raw a blue.

These paintings, exposed to the temperature of the air, in a vestibule which long remained open, have necessarily lost their early charm; first, by the damage which occasioned their reparation, and then by the reparation itself; let us add, by some original negligence in the preparation of the stucco destined for the fresco.¹ Lastly, the execution of the whole work having taken place at a period when Raffaello, overwhelmed with various occupations, necessarily abandoned it in a great measure to his pupils,² it is certain that it is not thence we must now seek to form an idea of what he produced most excellent in colouring and harmony of tints.

Yet, if the hand of Raffaello is not manifested equally throughout this great ensemble, and with as much advantage as elsewhere, his genius so presides there, his imagination has bestowed upon his compositions such wealth of beauty,

¹ See Bellori, *della Reparazione...e della loggia di Raffaël alla Lungara*.

² Vasari, *Vit. di Raff.*, iii. 223.

that admiration scarcely leaves room for criticism. The charm of the thoughts supplies in many subjects the charm of colouring. Those of Venus mounting to Heaven in her Car, and of Cupid with the three Graces, have preserved all the freshness and vigour of their tone. And as to what the others may have lost, the true connoisseur finds himself well recompensed by the excellence of these wonderful compositions, the mere design of which suffices to enchant the mind and the eye. Where shall we find a figure more full of life, more aerial in its ensemble and movement, than that of Mercury rising to the skies? What group more graceful than that of the Apotheosis of Psyche? What conception at once more simple and more majestic, familiar and sublime, than that of the father of the gods embracing the son of Venus.

The two great compositions which share the whole extent of the ceiling, show us the highest point which the poetry of painting has ever attained—a very restoral of the painting of Greek poetry. Assuredly Homer never had a clearer or closer revelation of Olympus and its inhabitants. Although we must suppose that the poet of the *Iliad* initiated Raphael in these mysteries, and introduced the muse of his pencil to the Banquet of the Gods, we may venture to hesitate between the superiority of the one art over the other, and between their representations; the painter, in fact, limited to the confines of the real, subject to visible forms, though called upon to reproduce the unlimited creations of the poet's imagination, if his task surpasses in difficulty, does it not also surpass in merit, that which has everything at its disposal—the possible equally with the impossible?

Certainly the most difficult labour, the most weighty undertaking of the painter, transported to the regions of the mythological world, must be the representing to the eyes that series of personages, so various in nature, physiognomy, character, proportion, age, costume, with which the imagination of the Greeks peopled the sky, borrowing from humanity the diversity of forms, by means of which all moral qualities, all intellectual ideas were rendered sensible to the eye.

This is what Raffaello has treated with so firm and learned

a hand, in the two vast compositions of the Council and of the Banquet of the Gods, from Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, Juno, Minerva, Diana, to Bacchus, Apollo, Hercules, the Graces, and the Muses, giving to each of these personages his or her peculiar physiognomy and form, the degree of the idea corresponding with the rank of each, and, so to speak, the measure of his or her divinity.

A description which should recount in detail these objects, were least calculated to give the reader an idea of compositions so elevated, so magnificent in invention, so rich in execution, as those of the Council and Banquet of the Gods. Let us, therefore, content ourselves with saying that Raffaello has here attained the summit of all the various spheres which his genius adorned. We find him equally sublime and inimitable; whether the poetry of his pencil, creating anew the ancient Olympus, again opens before us its fabulous gates, or whether, following the steps of the poets inspired by the Divine spirit, he unrolls before us the succession of the prophetic actions of the people chosen of God; or, as a new interpreter of the Gospels, he paints the coming of the Messiah, recounts his miracles, and the acts of his apostles, as we shall see, in the compositions of those celebrated tapestries, which appear to have fixed the bounds of a career beyond which Raffaello alone could have discerned new fields to conquer.

The impossibility for the pen to give an adequate account of the two great compositions of the Farnesina, will perhaps excuse our arresting the reader's attention as to a peculiarity in the manner in which Raffaello adapted them to the ceiling of this gallery, without their appearing to form the ceiling, or being what is called *plafonné*.

They are in fact designed and the figures are drawn, as if the position of the picture was vertical. An ingenious device justifies this disposition. The painter, at once painter and decorator, has arranged his works to look like tapestries, to which he has given apparent borders; and which seem fastened up by nails, painted on the edge. Thus the series has the effect of stretched tapestry, attached horizontally to the upper ceiling.

So many various works occupied the last years of Raf-

faello's life, so many occupations disputed his time and leisure, that he could not devote himself entirely to one undertaking. This will suffice to explain why that of the palace of Agostino Chigi, or the *Farnesina*, commenced before 1511, resumed at several intervals, was not, despite the co-operation of Giulio Romano, of Francesco Penni, of Giovanni da Udine, completely finished, in some parts of the decorations, during the life of Raffaello. To many inevitable digressions, we must add, if we are to believe Vasari, one attributable to Raffaello's immoderate devotion to a mistress. The passion of love, whose empire he so vividly represented, in the sort of temple which he consecrated to his own conqueror, would thus appear to have contributed to retard the completion of the temple. Captivated, it is said, by the charms of a beauty, whose features his art has preserved, he neglected the work of Agostino Chigi. The latter, it is added, after having exhausted all his powers of solicitation to overcome Raffaello's delays, employed the best expedient; that of inviting the cause of the delay into the house with Raffaello, who had thus no occasion to leave his work in order to see his enslaver.

There exists more than one copy of the portrait of Raffaello's mistress, *La Farnarina*.¹ The most authentic are those of the Barberini palace, and that of the gallery at Florence. The first passes for the work of Giulio Romano, and the dark tone of the shading makes this probable. That in the gallery at Florence is much finer in colouring. According to Vasari, there was one of these portraits in the cabinet of Matteo Botti, a merchant and passionate lover of the arts, at Florence. There is no doubt that this is the one which is seen in the *tribuna* in the Florentine Museum; it has all that character of striking resemblance which Vasari has praised in these words: *parea viva viva*.² The *Fornarina* also figures in more than one of Raffaello's works.³ In her portrait,

¹ So called from her being the daughter of a baker, (*fornaio*.) The original is in the Barberini palace.

² Vasari, *Vita di Raffaello*, 198.

³ For example, as a Muse in the :

she is represented nearly front face, and half length. The right hand raises her drapery to cover half her bosom. It has been observed, on this subject, that Raffaello always preserved decency, and never permitted himself a loose figure, or an immodest image.¹

Francis I. had learnt in Italy to unite the love of the arts with the glory of arms. The reputation and genius of Raffaello were then at their height; the restorer of literature and the fine arts in France could not but be ambitious to enrich his country with works calculated to produce and to direct there the taste and study of painting! It is according to this prince, and to his reign, that France owes the larger number of the pictures of Raffaello, which now form the principal ornaments of the Louvre. We have seen that the beautiful portrait of Joanna of Aragon,² and probably that of Baldassare Castiglione, came at this epoch to France.

At the same time, Raffaello painted for Francis I., or perhaps for Marguerite de Valois, his sister, a St. Margaret, which was for a long time in the chapel of Fontainebleau, as is shown by the collection of Pierre Dan, entitled, *Tresor des Merveilles de Fontainebleau*.³ This picture is only now known by several engravings, which represent the Saint standing, having by her side an enormous monster with open jaws. The attitude of St. Margaret is noble and expressive; her physiognomy is full of candour. Unfortunately, the restoration which it was endeavoured to give this picture, so damaged it, that it is no longer exhibited.⁴ The mention of it in Landon praises its colouring as fresh and vigorous, the pencilling as *easy and flowing*, and the whole worthy of being attributed to the hand of Raffaello himself.

Francis I. personally commissioned the painting of Saint Michael conquering the Angel of Darkness, and about to pierce him with his lance. The proportion of the archangel, larger than life, his attitude at once vigo-

¹ Vasari, *ib.*, p. 206. note.

² Vasari *Vit. di Giul. Rom.*, iv. 323.

³ See the *Catalogue raisonné des Tableaux du Roi*, by Lepicié, i. 92

⁴ It is five feet eight inches high, by three feet seven inches long.

rous and unstrained, contrasts in its simplicity with the violently distorted position of the fallen enemy. The general effect of the painting, when the colours were still in all their freshness, excited an admiration which Vasari thus expresses:—"This picture is looked upon as a marvel. Raffaello has here represented a rock burning through to the very entrails of the earth, whose crevices send forth sulphureous flames. The varied tints of Lucifer's flesh exhibit upon all his limbs the action of the fire which has reddened them. His head and his whole person manifest the rage and fury of envenomed pride against the conqueror, who, from the height of grandeur, precipitates him into the abyss of everlasting torment. Saint Michael, on the contrary, furnished with a brilliant armour of gold and steel, unites with the celestial air of his countenance that character of courage and strength which inspires terror. He has already prostrated the rebel angel, and by the aid of his lance thrusts him down. This work," adds the writer, "obtained from the king an honourable recompence."¹

The picture of Saint Michael, painted in 1517,² had already, in the time of Primaticcio, suffered some damage, for we find among the royal payments one to this artist for restoring it. The wood upon which it was painted having since been found to be worm-eaten, it was transferred to canvas, and, notwithstanding some parts which reveal the work of restoration, is now in a very good state of preservation at the Louvre, opposite the fine Holy Family, of which we are about to speak.

It is said that Raffaello was so generously recompensed for the picture of Saint Michael, by Francis I., that he thought himself bound in gratitude to thank him, by sending another of his works, the Holy Family, now admired as the finest piece in the Louvre. It must also be deemed the *chef-d'œuvre* of all Raffaello's Holy Families. We cannot refuse it this prerogative, when we consider the grandeur of the composition, the perfection of the execution, and its epoch, which was that of the maturity of the

¹ Vasari, iii. 269.

² Lepicié, *ut sup.*, 92

painter's talent. The work bears date the year 1518, as we read on the border of the blue dress of the Virgin in small characters.—RAPHAEL URBINAS, P.M.D.XVIII.

This magnificent painting, six feet five high, by four feet three wide, which was in the last century transferred from wood to canvas with great success, is so well known by the engravings which have been made of it, that we are dispensed with retracing the composition in language, a manner of description always inadequate, even when faithful, to make the mind understand what the eye alone can transmit to it.

We divided into three classes of composition all the subjects of Virgins which so variously employed Raffaello's pencil. The Holy Family in the Louvre certainly holds the first rank in the catalogue of subjects of the second class, from the importance and the dignity of its composition. It also partakes of the ideal character of the third, by the introduction of the two angels, whom Raffaello has poetically brought into the scene, which, without this episode, would not have been elevated above the domestic or familiar style of this order of representation. The presence of the two angels has naturally induced the painter to ennoble the ensemble of the subject, its details, its action, and the expression of each personage.

Thus we do not in any other of these compositions see so grand a style, so noble a drawing, a character of holiness so clearly impressed upon each physiognomy. That of the Blessed Virgin especially offers an ideal composed of a certain mixture of nobleness and sweetness, of beauty and virgin bashfulness, of maternal love and respectful dignity. The whole figure, in its attitude, its costume, and in every part of its adjustment, repeats that which we read in the physiognomy. A celestial grace is spread over the whole composition. It is visible in the person of the Infant Jesus, who is eagerly stretching forth from his cradle to his mother. The purity of outline, the expression of the head, the movement of the body, the development of the whole figure, give us the idea of a nature superior to humanity. It is readily conceivable that painting cannot reveal the Holy Mystery, or render its idea

visible to the eye, but by the aid of this perfection of form, which we must regard as an exception to all ordinary imitation.

But Raffaello, in this scene and in some others of the same class, has employed yet another means of suggesting to our eyes the divine nature of the principal personage, by exhibiting to us the initiation of the bystanders themselves in the mystery of God made man, which he has done by giving them the expression or attitude of adoration.

Thus Elizabeth is seen teaching the little St. John to testify, by the action of his clasped hands, his respect for the child, whose advent he will afterwards be called upon to proclaim, whose divine mission he will have to declare. St. Joseph, with his head supported upon his hand, which issues from his drapery, appears plunged in profound meditation. Of the two angels already mentioned, one with hands crossed upon his breast, seems engaged in an act of adoration; the other, who gives a tone to the entire composition, drops flowers from upraised hands upon the head of the Virgin.

There is no one of these figures which might not be instanced as a model of the most rare and finished excellence of detail, and every relation, to be produced by painting : grandeur and purity of trait; grace of draperies and adjustments; choice of character in the countenances of the different personages, whose assemblage is the assemblage of all ages of life; vigour of tone, beauty of touch, are all here. This picture is a kind of compendium of the various properties of Raffaello's talent. Some portions of colour have become somewhat *protruded* through the tones of the drapery, and have produced an effect of harshness in them. Nevertheless, the general aspect is still harmonious, but with a harmony which has been purchased by none of those sacrifices too common among those painters who make all other qualities subordinate to it. It has been generally remarked, concerning the execution of the head of St. Joseph, that it is painted with all the facility which we admire in the masters of colouring. Consequently

this picture is among the number of those which have led to the belief that Raffaello, had he lived longer, would have combated the Venetian school with much success.

This master-picce, executed in 1518, is that which, together with the Transfiguration, marks the highest point attained by the artist, especially in oil painting.

Nevertheless, it seems to us, that, in order to measure the progress of the genius of Raffaello, limiting this parallel to the category of the Virgins so often multiplied by him, we may determine the three periods of his picturesque life, by the three works which divide its course into almost equal parts.

I. The Virgin, called *la Giardiniera*, painted in 1507, marks pretty nearly the term of his first manner in oil-painting.

II. The Virgin, called *au poisson*, executed in 1514, indicates the passage of his second manner into his third.

III. The Virgin of the Louvre, of which we have just spoken, and which bears in writing the date of 1518, indubitably the epoch of his third manner, testifies a degree of merit above which none of his pictures can be placed.

Raffaello had been nominated, as we have seen above, architect of the church of St. Peter's, by Leo X., in the month of August, 1515. A brief of the same pope, dated the same month of the following year, conferred upon him the general superintendence of all the remains of antiquity, both of the works of which the materials might serve for the decoration of the new basilica, and of the fragments bearing inscriptions worthy to be preserved.

"Knowing" (runs the brief) "that both those who build in Rome and in its environs, and those who are engaged in making excavations, find marbles of all kinds abundantly and in all directions among the ancient ruins, I grant to you, being architect in chief of St. Peter's, the general inspection of all excavations and discoveries of stones and of marbles which shall be henceforward made in Rome, and within a circumference of ten miles, in order that you may purchase what may be necessary for the construction of the new temple.

"To this end, I command every one, of whatever condition or rank he or she may be, noble or not, titled or of low estate, to make you, as superintendent of this matter, acquainted with every stone or marble which shall be discovered within the extent of country designated by me, who desire that every one failing to do so shall be judged by you, and fined from 100 to 300 gold crowns.

"As, moreover, it has been reported to me that workers in marble carelessly use and cut antique marbles, without regard to the inscriptions which are engraven thereupon, and which contain monuments important to be preserved for the study of the Latin language and learning, I prohibit all who belong to this profession from sawing or cutting any written stone, without your order or your permission; and I desire that if they do not obey, they shall be subjected to the same penalty."

Paulo Giovio, the contemporary of Raffaello, in a Latin eulogium consecrated by him to his memory, says, in appropriate terms, that he had so well studied and measured the remains of ancient Rome, as to be able to reconstruct the whole, and place it under the eyes of architects, *ut integram urbem architectorum oculis considerandam proponeret*.¹

Calcagnini, writing in the lifetime of Raffaello, relates the same fact, but in much more emphatic terms: "I will not speak," says he,² "of the basilica of the Vatican, the architecture of which Raffaello directed, but rather of the entire city of Rome, recalled by him to its ancient condition, and restored to its pristine beauty with the assistance of writers, of their descriptions and relations. He has thus excited the admiration of pope Leo X., and of all the inhabitants of Rome to such a point that every one regards him as a sort of Deity, descended from Heaven to restore the eternal city to its ancient splendour. (*Ut quasi cœlitus demessum numen, ad æternam urbem in pristinam majestatem reparandam, omnes homines suspiciant.*)"

Admitting that the nature of the eulogium may have

¹ See Tiraboschi, *Stor. del. letterat. ital.* Tomo ultimo.

² Coel. Calcagnini Opera Aliquot, Basileæ, 1544.

induced these writers to applaud, somewhat hyperbolically, an enterprise rendered, however, very remarkable by its novelty, it remains not the less certainly proved that Raffaello, who, as we have seen, sent draughtsmen as far as Greece, had embraced all the ancient edifices of Rome in a general plan of restoration, a kind of labour which has since been the subject of numerous works, and to which the architects of the succeeding times were much devoted. That this was the case appears the more probable, as from henceforth he was obliged to give himself to the more special studies of architecture, and as he found in his numerous school all the assistance necessary to the execution of such a work.

Thence more probability is acquired by the opinion of M. Francesconi,¹ namely, that a letter, or, as it would be now called, a report or memoir, addressed to Leo X., and attributed to Baldassare Castiglione, because it was found among his papers after his death, is, for the largest and most important portion at least, the performance of Raffaello.

One cannot refuse to believe that such is the case, upon reading in this report, which was accompanied by drawings, an exposition of considerations, projects, and diagrams, which can be the productions only of this artist, and which cannot be attributed to the author of the *Cortigiano*, who at Rome, in 1518, composed the celebrated treatise on the matter. Friend of the arts and of Raffaello as he was, assuredly he neither ought nor was able, to give himself to the work of measuring ruins, tracing plans, and marking out the ancient roads.

Besides, how can we persuade ourselves that pope Leo X. would have given such work to Baldassare Castiglione, who was at that time mixed up in all affairs of interest between the holy see and the duchy of Urbino, instead of to Raffaello, his architect and keeper of antiquities? How is it possible to lend oneself to this notion, when the author of the letter or report, now under consideration, says, in plain words, that the pope had com-

See *Congettura che una lettera, &c.* Francesconi. (Roma, 1799.)

manded him to draw out a design of ancient Rome, as far as practicable, from an acquaintance with the remains that then existed? *Essendo mi adunque comandato da Vostra Santità, che io ponga in disegno Roma antica, quanto conoscer si puo per quello che oggidì si vede, &c.*¹

Assuredly Castiglione cannot have been he who, in the report to the pope, has described the particular methods of taking the plans, and of tracing the geometrical elevations of ancient edifices: *Resta che io dica il modo che ho tenuto in misurar gli.*²

Finally, there is in this long letter, a passage which is decisive in favour of the opinion which attributes it to Raffaello; it is that wherein the author, expressing his regret at the injuries antique monuments were constantly suffering in his time, cites with grief those which he has seen the destruction of during the less than eleven years which he says he has passed at Rome: *che poi ch' io sono in Roma, che ancor non è l'undecimo anno.*³ This remark is valuable, because it cannot be applied to Castiglione, when, on one hand, we know, by the agitated life he lived, that he could certainly not have resided so many years at Rome; and when, on the other hand, we see that the date of the present production, being 1518 or 1519, gives precisely the eleventh year of Raffaello's residence at Rome, where he came first in 1508.

We must conclude from what has been said, that the restoration in drawings of the ancient monuments of Rome having necessarily been the work of Raffaello, according to all the contemporary witnesses above cited, the report upon this work, accompanied by drawings, and intended to be presented to pope Leo X., must also have been digested by him, as far as concerns the facts, the details, the researches, and the considerations relating to art or to construction.

How came it that the text of this report, in an episto-

¹ See *Congettura che una lettera, &c.* Francesconi (Roma, 1799.)

p. 54.

² *Ibid.* p. 62.

³ *Ibid.* p. 53

lary form, was found in the house of Baldassare Castiglione after his death? More than one hypothesis will explain this circumstance. In the first place Castiglione might have had a copy of it. May it not even be suspected that the original manuscript had been sent to him by the pope himself; or that it remained in his hands, awaiting the opportunity of its being used? Many causes may have prevented such an occasion from presenting itself, especially when we remember that the death of Raffaello occurred shortly after the date of this document. Lastly, what is, perhaps, still more probable, is, that being about to speak in his own name in this writing, of which the substance can have belonged only to him, Raffaello, considering the importance of the matter, and still more of the person to whom the memoir was to be addressed, may have been able to prevail upon Castiglione to take charge of it, and to improve its composition.

However well-informed we may wish to suppose Raffaello to have been, and although certain of his letters give a tolerably good impression of his capacity for writing, we may still presume that, in this piece, he might have desired to make a more than ordinary display. In fact, we find in its pages more than one indication of that figurative pomp which frequently characterized the writings of this period. We can therefore believe that the celebrated writer may have added the savour of an elegant phraseology to the simple and, at the same time, somewhat technical disquisition on operations, written down by the artist.

We cannot leave the consideration of this portion of Raffaello's labours in connexion with the ancient monuments of Rome, hitherto so little remarked upon, without making mention of a passage in the preface of *Andrea Fulvio*¹ to his work concerning *Roman Antiquities*, published seven years after the death of Raffaello: "I have taken pains," says he, "to save from destruction, and to restore with the authorities of writers, the ancient remains

¹ *Antiquit. Urbis, per Andr. Fulvium Antiquarium, &c.*; 15 Feb. 1527. (Taken from Francesconi.)

of Rome; and I have studied in each quarter those ancient monuments which, at my suggestion, Raffaello d'Urbino, a short time before his death, had drawn in pencil, *penicillo pinxerat.*"

Flanders at that time possessed celebrated manufactures of tapestry, and this kind of industry had there lately attained to the excellence of being able to reproduce all the effects of painting with great exactness. The mechanical methods of making this sort of copy have since acquired, in France, and at the Gobelins manufactory in particular, an increase of perfection, in more than one respect, as regards the use of colouring matters, which causes the work of the needle to rival that of the paint-brush. Nevertheless, the conceptions of Raffaello, together with the character of his style and of his compositions, were so happily given by the Flemish workmen, that we may question whether his genius would have found, at any time, or would now find, by similar means, a kind of translation more worthy of the original.

It was a happy idea of Leo X., who, wishing to procure for himself the expensive luxury of the Flemish tapestries,¹ charged Raffaello to add thereto the inestimable value of his conceptions. To that idea we owe the magnificent series of great compositions which are known by the name of the *Cartoons of Raffaello*.

In speaking of the frescos of the Vatican, we have already had occasion to explain the meaning of the word *cartoon*. Considered as to its object, it is, as we have said, to painting, what the model in clay, or in any other substance, is to sculpture in marble. The painter is not always obliged to have a coloured model in the cartoon, to guide him in the execution of the fresco. Fragments exist of some cartoons made by Raffaello for the frescos of the Vatican, which consist of a simple outline in black, set off with shadings. In this case the painter, who is himself to work in transferring his design to the plaster of the wall, has determined beforehand, either in a coloured sketch, or in his imagination, the

He expended 70,000 crowns upon them.



system of effects, and the arrangement of colours, which will be required by his subject.

It could not be, and was not thus, with the cartoons intended to be copied in tapestries, in imitation of paintings: the painter was obliged to colour them, and that with the greatest care. To justify this assertion, it would not have been necessary to mention that Vasari has also made it;¹ but what he adds is more precious: "These cartoons," continues he, "were all executed by Raffaello himself;" *tutti di sua mano*. The reader will learn by what follows whether there is not room for an exception; assuredly, however, though we may see some of them which indicate, by diversities of manner, the concurrence of more than one hand, we are compelled to acknowledge that, besides the invention of all, which can only have belonged to Raffaello, the total execution of several of these great compositions must be attributed to him.

This kind of work would necessarily prove attractive to a man of genius so fruitful, of such facility of talent, accustomed as he was to produce his performances with promptitude. The conceptions of each subject once determined, no other sort of work lends itself so easily to that species of extempore execution, which is excluded by painting in oil, and even by fresco.

The medium employed in these cartoons is water-colours; that is to say, colours mixed with water, wherein size, gum, or some other glutinous substance is dissolved, which, while it makes them firm, gives them also the property of adhering to the surface to which they are applied. From this preparation of colours a kind of painting results, which is usually of a clear and light effect, whether the tints are left smooth, or whether they are worked over with hatchings more or less full in the light and shade. The handling of this mode of painting requires boldness, which it naturally leads the painter to adopt. This boldness arises from the assurance that it is possible to alter the work much more easily than in oil-painting, whether it is required to correct the outline, or to smooth the tints, or modify the forms.

¹ Vasari, *Vit. di Raff.*, p. 213

Raffaello, when he executed his cartoons, which must have been during the last two years of his life, was in all the maturity of his age and talent. When we consider these compositions, with regard to the greatness of the thoughts, vigour of design, style, and expression, we must behold in them a new proof of the continual progress which is observable in the succession of his works. In these, indeed, he rises above himself. Yes, we must say it, the collection of these memorable works ought to be here pronounced what in truth it is, the climax, not only of the productions of Raffaello, but of all those of modern genius in painting.

In order to receive a complete idea of them, it is necessary to combine in one's thought the seven great original cartoons of this collection, which we have had the advantage of more than once admiring in England, with the magnificent tapestries of which Rome has preserved the imposing series. It is by giving, through this combination, a sort of complement to this great number of compositions, that the imagination is enabled to embrace the totality of the impressions which it is capable of producing. Thus we succeed, on the one hand, in, so to speak, reflecting upon the tapestries the value of originality which shines in the outlines, though somewhat weakened, of the cartoons; and, on the other hand, in rendering to these the splendour of the workmanship and the magnificence attached to the substance of the tapestries.

These tapestries, which are now become objects of study, and form a classical collection in the Vatican, were destined by Leo X. to adorn some saloons, of which all the superficies were not equal. This is why they vary in size. Four pieces in particular are only half the dimensions of the others; namely, the Massacre of the Innocents, a subject divided into two; the Disciples of Emmaus; and Jesus Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen. The nine other subjects, in which, as in the preceding, the figures are larger than nature, are: the Adoration of the Magi; the Descent of the Holy Ghost; the Miraculous Draught of Fishes; Jesus Christ giving the keys to St. Peter; St. Paul striking Elymas Blind; St. Peter and St. John curing

a **Lame Man in the Temple; Ananias struck Dead by St. Paul; St. Paul and St. Barnabas at Lystra; St. Paul preaching at Athens.**

The last seven of these subjects are those of which the cartoons adorn the royal gallery of Hampton Court; and it must be admitted that, if we may be allowed to make any preference, not between the works of Raffaello, but between the subjects treated by his pencil in this numerous series, fate seems to have selected to be spared those which combine, with the greatest richness of composition, the greatest elevation of thought, of style, and of expression.

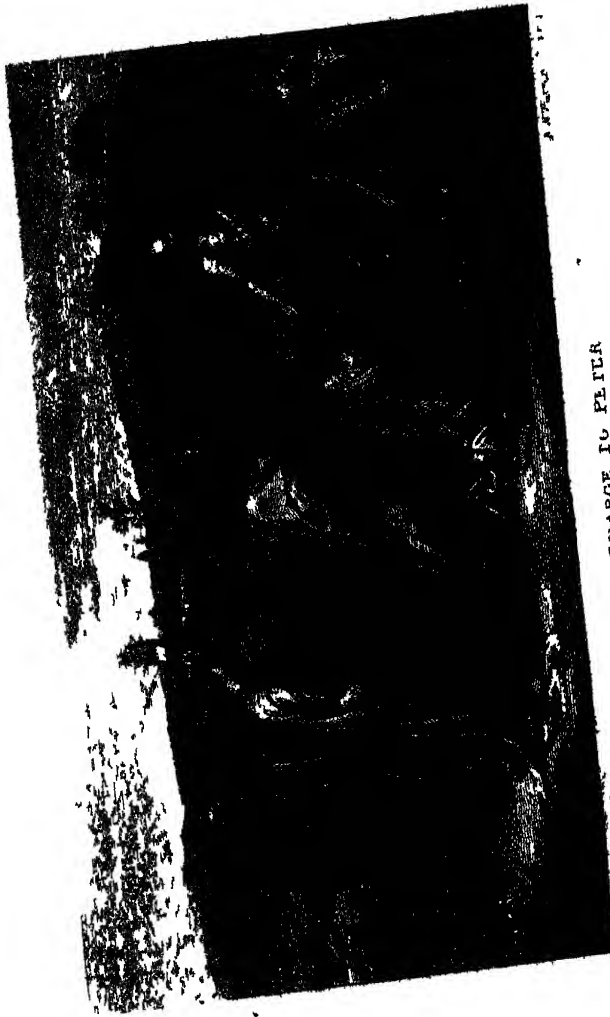
Richardson, a connoisseur and a judicious critic, writing more than a century ago upon these cartoons, which were under his eyes, and of which the colours might have then had greater splendour than they have at present, does not hesitate to place them above all the works of Raffaello, but particularly above the frescoes of the Vatican. In his parallel between the gallery at Hampton Court and the saloons which he has described, some of his motives of preference may have been inspired by a national prejudice. Some of his reasons, also, seem to us to be founded upon considerations which are somewhat foreign to art. In comparisons of this kind, criticism should avoid conclusions of too absolute a kind, so numerous and various are the elements of such an admeasurement. Thus, we will very readily admit, with Richardson, in his reasons for preferring the series of cartoons at Hampton Court, that the choice which Raffaello has made in them of the most magnificent and touching points in the history of religion, is, for every Christian, of a more immediate interest than that of the subjects painted in the Stanze of the Vatican. Nevertheless, as regards art and painting, would this be a peremptory reason of preference? Ought we, in a question purely of art and theory, to resolve upon judging the paintings of the Stanze inferior, because their subjects are *general representations of sciences or histories which are of little importance to us*? Think where the application of such a system of appreciation might lead us, were it employed to measure the relative value of all the works of ancient or modern art!

In order to refute, were it needful, the result of the parallel of Richardson, might we not also say, in favour of the Stanze of the Vatican, that the subjects with which Raffaello has adorned them are preferable in this respect, that we find among them the most various kinds; for, as it has been already remarked, the subjects there treated are theological, philosophical, allegorical, and historical?

There is yet, perhaps, another point of interest connected with art and with Raffaello, in the paintings of these saloons. It has been shown, in short, that his talent displayed and modified itself therein, under more than one form, and in divers degrees. When we have considered in them the fruits of his genius, as yet in the early spring of a simple truthfulness, we may follow in them their gradual development, and may admire a progression of skill, which seems to grow in proportion to the importance of the subjects.

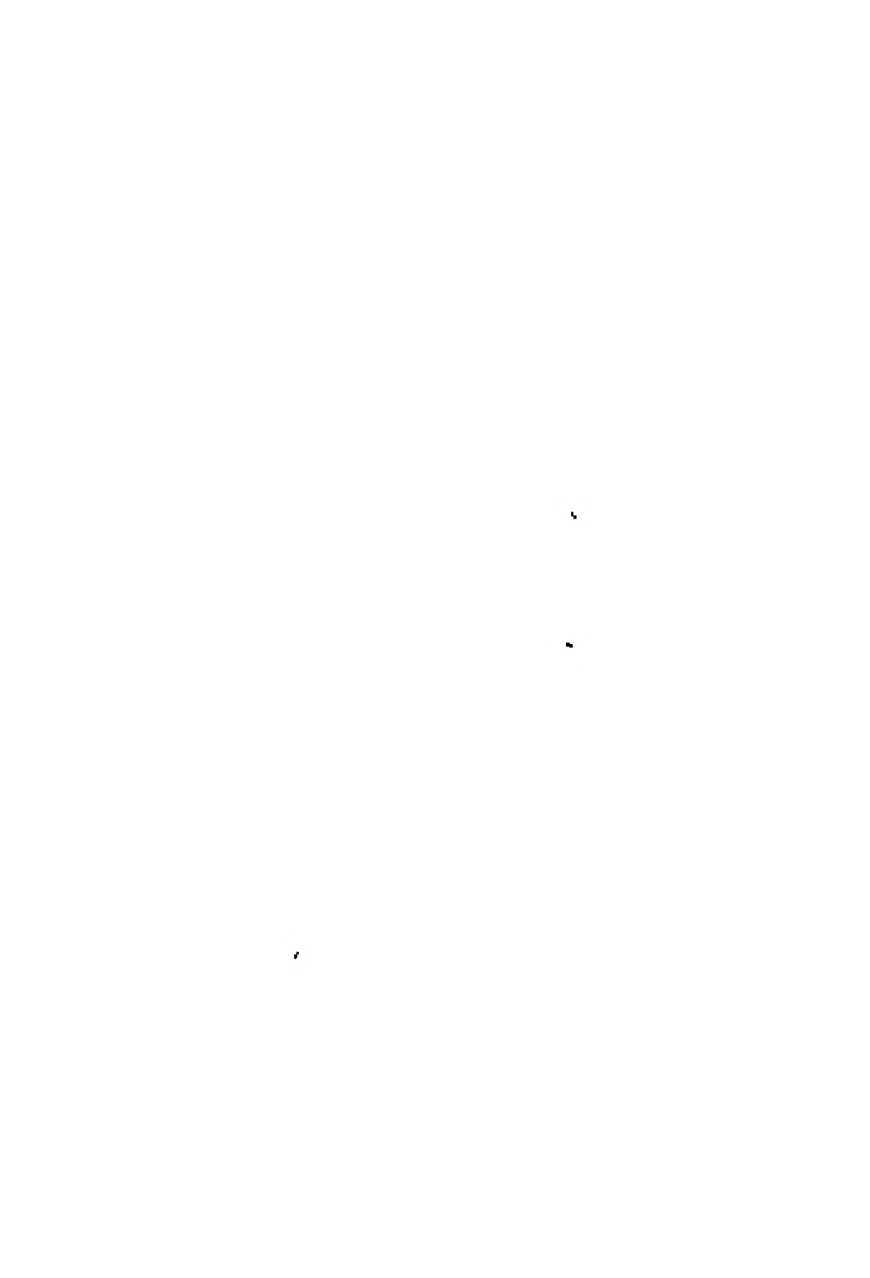
But we shall be completely of Richardson's opinion, if we are to estimate the cartoons, apart from the consideration of the mode of painting and of every other circumstance; that is to say, simply as productions of the thought or genius of the author, as witnesses of the power of conception and execution to which Raffaello had attained in the last two years of his life: finally, as the works upon which he seems to have bestowed personally the most labour.

We have already remarked that, notwithstanding the assertion of Vasari, more than one composition presents, in more than one cartoon, certain varieties of manner which make it apparent that Raffaello employed upon it the aid of some of his fellow-labourers. We can scarcely avoid, in some instances, recognising the manner of Giulio Romano, which is the more easy to distinguish, inasmuch as we possess, for the purposes of verification, a great number of works, composed, designed, and executed by him after the death of Raffaello. Now, we see there, that there is in the character of the designs of Giulio Romano something which falls short of his master's truth, and which often goes beyond the limits of the grand. It must be admitted, that his method of painting and of colouring is rather



THE CHARGE IS PLEA

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heavy, and inclines to blackness. One is thus induced to regard the execution of those cartoons as being more certainly from the hand of Raffaello himself, of which the treatment is, at once, the most pure and the most true; in which is found, as is vulgarly said, the least pretension; in which, finally, the colouring has the greatest simplicity of effect, and in which the expression of the personages has the greatest share of force, that is to say, of that true force which seems to come without effort.

Such qualities appear to us to be exhibited by the four cartoons, of which, first of all, we shall make particular mention. We say, *mention*, because the description and analysis of all these compositions might constitute the fruitful subject-matter of a long and voluminous work.

Of the cartoons in this selection, one of the most pure in design, effect, and colour, is assuredly that which represents Jesus Christ, who, after having given the keys to St. Peter, shows him the flock which he confides to him. This is the *Pasce oves meas*.

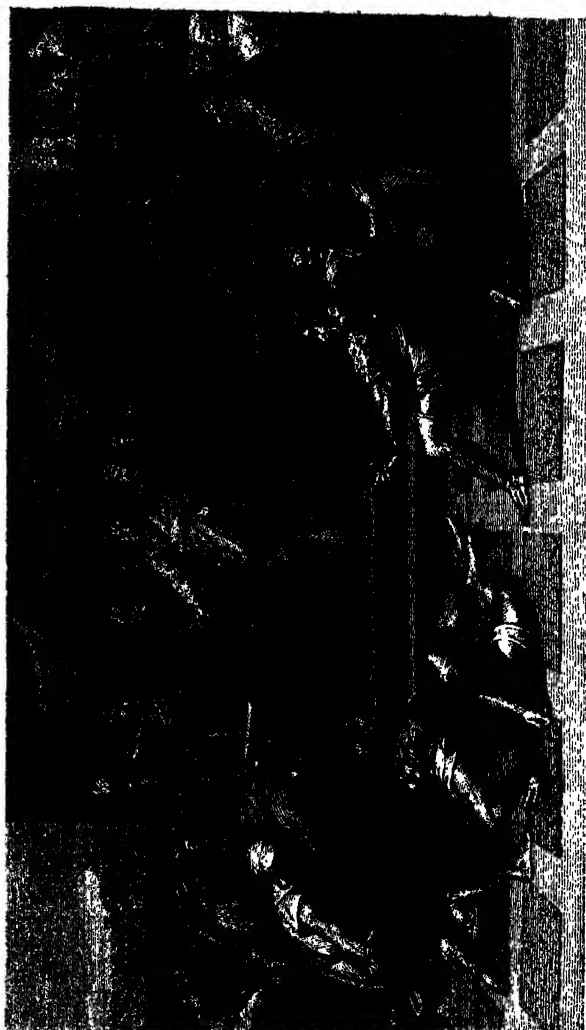
Raffaello has treated very few subjects, especially on a large scale, of which we do not find in his sketches the details, or first ideas, essays which he had sometimes occasion to employ in smaller spaces. The juxta-position of these repetitions furnishes us with a proof of the astonishing facility with which he modified his conceptions, and of his skill in perfecting them.

The subject of the *Pasce oves meas*, of which we see a repetition in the sort of borders that, frieze-fashion, frame the tapestries, seems to have been the sketch of the cartoon; and yet, in the entire composition of the latter, there is not a single figure which entirely resembles any one of those in the sketch. There is no intention, no idea, which has not been either better developed, or made grander. There is more amplitude in the draperies, more action in the arrangement, more variety in the groups. The different sentiments of the apostles seem adapted to the peculiar character of each, which they also serve to display. The general expression, as well of the entire scene, as of each of the personages, is that of a religious calm: the effect of the general tone is tranquil

and clear; the design and execution correspond, by their purity, to the noble simplicity of the subject, and to the charm of the site where the action is placed. Here, again, is one of the works by which we see that Raffaello was capable of becoming a skilful landscape painter.

The subject of, Ananias struck Dead by the Words of St. Peter, appears to us to be one of those, among the seven cartoons at Hampton Court, upon which we may believe, with Vasari, that Raffaello alone laboured. Besides the indications of which we have already spoken, and which result, to the eye of the connoisseur, from differences of execution, may it not be permitted to add to those presumptions, the natural preference which the artist himself may have had in the choice of the subjects which he reserved for his peculiar execution? Now, it is unquestionable that the conception of the subject of Ananias must be regarded as that wherein the assemblage of all the qualities, which not only constitute, but serve to define the genius of painting, predominates in the greatest degree.

Among the merits of which the poetic talent of painting is composed, there is one which is very rare; it is that of selecting for each scene what may be called the moral costume, or otherwise, *the manners* of the subject. This is the merit which strikes us here in the group of the apostles. Nowhere do those fishermen, who have quitted their nets to become the celestial missionaries of the Gospel, appear to us with a character mingled with so much simplicity and divine authority. St. Peter, among them, seems to be indeed he whom the Master has chosen for the chief of this spiritual embassy. It is he whom the Holy Spirit fixes upon as the organ of the judgment against Ananias. The austere symmetry of his posture and attire, the severity of his look and of his physiognomy, the tranquil but energetic action of his gesture—all have the emphasis of inspiration, all declare the interpreter of the Divine vengeance. Shall I not say that we see, that we hear him pronounce these words: *Thou hast lied to the Holy Ghost?* He has spoken, and the chastisement follows. The apostle next to St. Peter



THE DEATH OF ANANIAS

THE DEATH OF ANANIAS

lifts the right arm, and his finger, which points to Heaven, shows whence has emanated the sentence of death. Nothing could be more happy for the exposition of the subject, and for the picturesque effect of the whole, than the circumference of that estrade upon which the group of apostles is elevated, and the back of which, poor and simple like themselves, has no other ornament than the folds of a suspended cloth. It is the place destined for the reception, as well as the distribution, of the gifts or alms which are to be divided among the faithful. It was impossible to have made the subject better understood by the appearance of place, time, and persons. At the side of the estrade, we see various Christians coming, some bringing money, others bearing goods or merchandise as a tribute to be deposited at the feet of the apostles. On the other side is going on the distribution to those who wait outside the balustrade running round the enclosure. Two of the apostles preside at the division: one holds a bag of coin; the other has drawn thence those which he is counting to the man, who, holding forth his hands, seems to demand more.

The middle of the scene upon the foreground of the picture, is occupied by the figure of Ananias stricken dead, and fallen to earth. What we cannot too much admire is the way in which the attitude of the man explains his fall. It is impossible to err; its cause was sudden and violent: all, together with the expression of the head, exhibits its effect. Raffaello has alone possessed the secret of sometimes expressing that which is successive in the action, of which painting can only seize a single and rapid instant. When a figure is seen fallen to the earth, the painter cannot tell us how long it has been there, and how long it will be in its present posture. Any other painter would have made this figure support itself upon one of its hands; but here the hand is turned, so that the body is supported upon the wrist, a kind of position which cannot be lasting; now, by this we see that, in a short moment, the body will be wholly stretched upon the earth.

The two persons behind Ananias are charged by the painter with explaining to the spectator, as far as it can be

done by pantomime, the crime which has just been punished. One, by the gesture of pointing to the apostles, reproaches Ananias with having deceived them; the other, by a certain attitude of body and the movement of his arms, of which the expression is indeed speaking, conveys these words: "Thou hast deceived, and hast now no more than thou deservest." The terror inspired by this sudden chastisement, is given with an astonishing force in the figure of the young man who recoils with affright. But to pretend to describe such beauties by words, would be to mistake the respective limits of the means peculiar to the art of language and to the language of art. It suffices here if the words recal the composition to those who know either the original or the engraving, and cause a desire for such knowledge in those who do not possess its idea.

In the Saint Paul and Saint Barnabas in the city of Lystra, we have another of those compositions in which Raffaello stands superior to all other painters, in the art of rendering the subject treated by him intelligible. This art consists in choosing from all the circumstances of an action, those which best explain it to the eyes, exhibiting, at the same time, certain peculiarities, by means of which the fact that is to be expressed acquires to the mind also the greatest possible clearness. Many writers, as Lanzi¹ has said, love to cite, as proof and instance of this particular gift, the tapestry of the cartoon which represents Saint Paul and Saint Barnabas in the city of Lystra. The miracle of the man who had been a cripple from his birth, to whom the apostles had just given the use of his legs, had struck the inhabitants of Lystra with astonishment. They looked upon them as gods, and prepared to offer a sacrifice to them. We see, then, on one side of the picture, the multitude who bring on the victims. The altar, the officiators at the sacrifice—all are ready. The axe of the sacrificer is already lifted. But in the middle of the crowd there appears a personage whose hand advances, and seems to oppose the accomplishment of the sacrifice. It is one of the disciples sent by the apostles to stop the blow.

¹ Lanzi, *Stor. pitt.*, tom. ii. p. 80



P' 1 AND BARNABAS AT LYSTRE

Enfants de

1894

In another part, upon the steps of a temple, we see Saint Paul protesting with indignation against the sacrilege which is being prepared. He turns his head aside, and tears his clothes. Nothing can be more noble, or more significant than the expression of this figure, with which is contrasted, by an opposition full of taste, that of St. Barnabas, who, behind St. Paul, stands with clasped hands, and beseeches Heaven to avert the threatened outrage.

But what particularly recommends itself to the attention of an ingenious criticism, is the art with which Raffaello has contrived, in this composition, to combine, and to render reciprocally explanatory, the general fact of the assembly, which strikes the eye, and the particular fact, which is the cause of it, a result which would seem to be the exclusive privilege of narration. Now, this fact or cause is the miracle of which we have spoken.

But how was this miracle which has been wrought, to be expressed to the eyes?

It was necessary that the spectator should be instructed by the picture itself concerning that which has produced this idolatrous enthusiasm of the multitude. Therefore, in the foreground, and near the bull which is about to be immolated, is placed the figure of the cured cripple, lifting his hands, in the act of thanks, towards his benefactor, the apostle.

But it was also necessary that the picture should indicate the infirmity which has existed, and the circumstance of its disappearance. The first point becomes sensible by the two crutches which sustained the cripple before his cure, and which are now upon the ground at his feet. With regard to the second point, that is, the straightening of his legs and the use which the cripple makes of them, this is how the painter expresses this change to you: he introduces into his composition an incredulous old man, who, doubting the miracle, approaches the poor man, whom he had well known as a cripple from his birth, with much reserve. With a curious air, he lifts and moves away the skirt of his vestment, in order to assure himself of the reality of the straightening of his legs. Everything is speaking in this figure: the right hand has the movement

of circumspect curiosity which belongs to a man who doubts and is uncertain; the left hand expresses surprise.

We should never finish showing and admiring all the varieties of characters, sentiments, and affections which are discoverable in this composition. There is adoration and respect among some, dissimulated hatred among others. Incredulity, with all its disdainfulness, sits upon the countenance of the old man, who completes the composition. Raffaello, who understood the most noble forms, excelled equally in giving the ideal of the ignoble: witness the beggar by profession, in the painting which we have now described; witness the two cripples, in the composition of another cartoon of which we are soon to speak.

The subject of St. Paul preaching, whether at Ephesus or Athens, has engaged Raffaello more than once. There exist many designs of his upon this subject, which are like preludes to the great and beautiful composition of the cartoon at Hampton Court, a work in which we meet with nothing which does not induce us to attribute the entire execution to the hand of the master. Here, indeed, shines forth that character, at once of wisdom and amplitude, of simplicity and richness, of grandeur and eloquence, which was the peculiarity of his designs. The pen-and-ink sketch of the Preaching of St. Paul, a sketch which has been engraved by Marc Antonio, served for the theme of this cartoon.

Always ingenious in the choice of the locality of each scene, Raffaello has given to the present the accompaniment of a space surrounded with fine buildings. The foreground, consisting of the steps of a temple, upon which the apostle is raised, provides him with a sort of platform or rostrum, about which, in a circle, is arranged the audience, of which the masses are balanced in the happiest manner, by the variety introduced into the groups of figures, some of whom are standing, others sitting. This disposition, which, while it isolates the sacred orator, places him in the foreground of the picture, confers upon his entire person a greatness of proportion which seems to add, for the senses, the effect of a certain superiority to that of the imposing action by which he prevails over his audience.



Every composition ought to present to the eyes agreeable relations between the parts and the whole. The artist obtains them by subordinating the groups and their connexion to the harmony of the lines, or to what is called *the picturesque effect*. This beautiful harmony, which charms the senses, and which Raffaello possessed in a degree beyond any other painter, is, nevertheless, to the judgment of a spiritual critic, no more than a secondary merit of his works. We find with him a profounder order of combinations: in his paintings, we may not only find reason for the movements and action of each person, but we can discover what each feels and thinks. It might be said that the ideas and affections are composed, contrasted, and grouped, as well as the bodies.

You can distinguish, in the circle of the audience of St. Paul, five groups, so to speak, of affections, either distinct or contrasted, of which the alternate expressions indicate every species of disposition of mind.

Behind the apostle three persons are collected, whose positions and expressions of countenance indicate merely a cold admiration. The second group of men, seated near the orator, indicate by the agitation which is manifested among them, that they are disputing. Then comes a group, at the head of which is an erect figure, whose attitude, attentive air, and head slightly inclined on one side, give the idea of a degree of persuasion which has touched the feelings: it is the belief of the heart. Hard by are old men with bald heads; one of them, with his hands and head resting on a crutch, listens, but with a hardened air; his neighbour seems to fear to be convinced. Passionate admiration and devotion of conviction are manifested by the most sensible signs, in the personage who is grouped, at the other extremity of the picture, with the figure of a woman, which terminates the composition upon this side.

When it is said that the cartoons of the tapestries were painted by the hand of Raffaello, it is to grant much, (considering the multitude of his occupations and hindrances) that, after having composed them all, he should alone have executed some of them, and more or less

worked upon some others. Even in those the execution of which he would reserve to himself, is it not probable that he would still have employed the pencil of more than one of his pupils, in the various and numerous accessories of the majority of their compositions? Thus the same Giovanni d'Udine, whom we have seen in the Loggie of the Vatican, and at the *Farnesina*, charged with painting flowers, fruits, and animals, might, in the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, have executed the water, sky, the landscape, and those aquatic birds which embellish the foreground.

Although less abounding in figures, less rich in movement and expression, and less dramatic in subject, the scene of the Miraculous Draught presents the most beautiful details in the attitudes of the fishermen. The general tone of the picture is full of freshness. It might be supposed that the total aspect, by the splendour and lightness of the colours proper to the subject, was destined to produce, in this numerous series of works, certain varieties, and even certain contrasts, calculated to make them severally estimated by intercomparison.

It is legitimate to suppose that Raffaello had sometimes in view the nature of the substance and workmanship of the art of tapestry, as well in his choice of some subjects, as in the manner of representing them, and his use of the accessories which might be introduced. We know that this art adapts itself to the details and richness of embroideries, ornaments, and the gorgeousness of architectural decoration. One would like to explain, from this point of view, the very peculiar composition of St. Peter and St. John curing a lame man under a peristyle of a temple. I have said, *peculiar composition*. The scene, in fact, passes, properly speaking, under the portico, and in such manner, that, contrary to all custom, the columns come before the figures, so as to cut the scene into as many compartments as there are intercolumnar spaces. It is in the centre space that the principal action passes; the rest is shared among the other spaces which separate the columns. This singular portion of the composition, which seems to be the accessory of the principal portion, finds, perhaps, its ex-



planation, particularly if we bear in mind the tapestry. No one of the series, in fact, strikes the eyes more by the effect of its workmanship. This effect is due to the astonishing richness of the columns, which are twisted, fluted, and adorned with gilt foliage, and the richness and splendour of which has been reproduced in the tapestry with astonishing truth.

We are led to believe that Giulio Romano had a great share in the execution of this cartoon. Undoubtedly we may find in it more than one beautiful and noble figure, which becomes still more remarkable by the contrast of the two lame beggars, the terrible truthfulness of whom would seem to be the ideal type of all the deformities with which nature can afflict a human creature.

The seventh of the cartoons at Hampton Court—that is to say, of the original paintings after which the celebrated tapestries of the Vatican were executed—represents the Blinding of Elymas. This sorcerer opposed the preaching of St. Paul, and endeavoured to prevent the proconsul from embracing the religion of Christ.

Raffaello has treated this subject, (I speak of his *composition*,) after a system which was familiar to him. I speak of that according to which a certain correspondence established among the principal masses of the picture, produces in it a true symmetry of lines. Generally, this effect pleases the eye, because its sensible result is to facilitate the comprehension of the whole. This method seems peculiarly suitable to any scene placed in an interior, of which the architecture, naturally symmetrical, constitutes the background or accompaniment.

Here the action takes place in the *Prætorium*, the centre of which is occupied by a niche where the tribunal of the proconsul rises. The middle point, where we see the judge with his assistants, naturally divides the scenes, the actors, and the spectators into two groups. On one, is St. Paul, whose menacing gesture proclaims that he has obtained vengeance from on high against the enemy of God; on the other side, and in front of St. Paul, advances Elymas the sorcerer, who is just become blind. The effect of this sudden privation of sight is wonderfully

given, by the most expressive pantomime. It is impossible to imagine an action more true. The wretched man, plunged into darkness, extends his arms, seeks for a support, and gropes along; the proconsul and all present are struck with astonishment.

We have now gone through the composition of the seven cartoons at Hampton Court. The very titles of their subjects (we dare not say as much for our description of them) will have proved to the reader who has not seen them, that fate, as we have already said, has spared the best of these compositions.

Among the five others of the collection, of which we can derive the idea only from the tapestries, there are some whose subjects, without being new, or displaying an invention as rare, do not fail, however, to present very great beauties. Such is, among others, that of the Adoration of the Magi. In dimensions it may be reckoned among the largest. It is also, of the whole collection, by far the most numerous in figures—the *fullest*, if we may so express ourselves.

Raffaello, after having frequently treated the subject of the Adoration of the Kings, in paintings as well as in drawings, seemed to have intended to accumulate in this last composition all the ideas which he had dispersed among the preceding, and therein to combine, with all the different kinds of character and expression, all the splendours which the subject, historically considered, would admit of, and which the oriental pomp of the persons who figure in the scene suggests to the imagination. It is agreeable, also, to think that this kind of superfetation of accessories, of details, of horses, of camels, of elephants, all this Asiatic *cortège*, may have been suggested to the artist by the desire of furnishing the tapestry work with favourable objects of imitation, in the richness and variety of stuffs, and in the astonishing variety of ornament. It is certain that no one of the other tapestries strikes so much with its splendour, or exercises so much power of attracting the eyes, and fixing the crowd of spectators, as this.

But what we must admire above all, is the conception or moral idea of the picture. One of the privileges of



Harlan & Pines

ELYMAS THE SORCERER STRUCK BLIND.

A. J. Hartman 1894

Raffaello was to be able to place himself in the highest point of view with regard to each subject. No one has better understood than he has done, that the subjects of Christianity, especially those connected with the mysteries of its origin, may be conceived and represented in two ways by painting. Of these two ways, one can only consist of the simple image of the fact as the gospel relates it; and to this, Raffaello has more than once confined himself in treating the present subject. The other manner is that by which, acquainted with the great results of the fact that he is to express, the painter, like the epic poet, makes use of a sort of prophetic fiction, by means of which he develops in anticipation, and conveys to the spectator, the miraculous consequences which we now know that it contained.

Thus the subject of the Adoration of the Kings, signifying, as the word *Epiphany* implies, (the name given to this event in its mystical sense,) the revelation of the Saviour, and the appeal made to the Gentiles by their future liberator, Raffaello knew how to employ, with a rare success, in the representation of the fact, the great consequences which the succession of ages must develop from it. He had thus the merit of two great and beautiful ideas: one, of having opposed, to the poverty of the stable, the pompous retinue of the kings, prostrated at the feet of the *Infant God*; the other, of having exhibited and assembled together, by a prophetic licence, that crowd of the inhabitants of all countries, who, holding their arms towards the manger, thus declare the advent of the Redeemer of the world.

It has been said, that the tapestries having been designed to decorate different saloons in the departments of the Vatican, their dimensions were necessarily subordinated to those of the walls of these saloons. Thus there are some which, with the same height, are not quite half the breadth of the preceding. Such are the two pieces of hanging whereon are represented, in one, Jesus Christ appearing, after his resurrection, to Mary Magdalen, like a gardener; and on the other, Jesus Christ at table with the disciples at Emmaus, and making himself known to them. These two subjects, somewhat sterile for compo-

sition, offer nothing, either in this or in other respects, which description can lay hold of. It may be doubted whether, if Raffaello composed them, he took any part in their execution.

It is not so with the Massacre of the Innocents, which, divided into two pieces of tapestry, must nevertheless be regarded as one subject, although the figures in either are composed separately upon each ground, so that they cannot be made to harmonise when placed together.

In this double composition Raffaello, who could never repeat himself, was compelled to measure himself with himself—that is, with the celebrated design which he had already made upon the same subject, to exercise the graver of Marc Antonio. This drawing, it must be confessed, has some advantage over the tapestry: as the proportionate breadth of the drawing is double that of the two new compositions, the different scenes of the subject succeed in it to one another, group themselves, and are connected together with much more satisfaction to the eye. There is more of what is called air. On the contrary, the narrow dimensions of the two compositions, all height, intended for the tapestries, induced Raffaello, particularly in one of them, to heap the figures together, if the expression be allowable. In order to introduce many things, he has been obliged, in taking his point of view from on high, to place them one above the other.

For the rest, nothing can better exhibit his inexhaustible fertility, and the faculty he had, not only of varying his conceptions, but of surpassing his first thought in force and value. In these tapestries we rarely discover, not simply an action, but, if we may so speak, a movement or a theme, which has been borrowed from the drawing. If there is any repetition of idea, it is that the subject, allowing but of one kind of attack, violence, and murder, rendered it impossible for the painter to avoid retracing, in his images, the same situation of useless defence and despair. Notwithstanding this compulsory repetition, we may affirm that there is not a single portion, not a single figure repeated; that there is not a movement, nor a head, nor an expression, which is not of entirely fresh invention.

If we cannot describe to ourselves Raffaello, but by first forming a just idea of what is called the gift of invention, it would seem that we have here a kind of inevitable vicious circle, from which it results that we can describe invention in painting only by instancing the productions of Raffaello. People often believe that, when a subject has once received the stamp of genius, it is exhausted, and that there is no longer any means of employing it again. Yet how many subjects have been repeated, and how many times, by Raffaello, who never believed that he had exhausted a single one, and who, had it been necessary, would have again repeated, with new beauties, the Massacre of the Innocents. The truth is, that, as there is infinity in Nature, there is likewise infinity in the variety of the sensations which she produces, and consequently in the images, which are their impresses. Now, that which characterizes the genius of invention is that quality possessed by the imagination of multiplying these impresses, as Nature multiplies the variety of her types.

It is very true that all those who, since Raffaello, have treated the subject of the Massacre of the Innocents, have given cause to think that it has been exhausted by him. It is true, also, that in no work of art have power and energy of expression been carried so far, and it is with difficulty that we can conceive even an approximation. Raffaello, in this subject above all, seems to have exhibited the utmost limit of invention in the depicting of the passions.

In imitation by the art of painting, as in that of the other arts, there is a secret by which the impressions of a subject and its effects are produced upon the soul in the highest degree. This secret consists in avoiding to multiply the scenes and objects of emotions upon many points, and in concentrating the action in a principal point of view, or upon a small number of aspects. Le Brun, for instance, has painted the Massacre of the Innocents, and has so multiplied the acts, scenes, and episodes, that the memory can scarcely preserve the recollection of a single one of them. But no one who has once seen this subject treated by Raffaello will ever forget the

impression. It is because Raffaello had always the art of seizing, in every subject, that which is its culminating point, and, by bringing the force of his invention to bear upon this point, of fixing the eye and attaching the interest of the spectator upon it. Thus, in the two parts of the present composition, he has taken care to place in the fore-ground the object that is at once the most terrible and the most pathetic of his drama.

In one, he shows, in front of the picture, the frightfully truthful group of the assassin holding the dagger with one hand, and with the other tearing the infant from its mother, who, thrown down upon the ground, defends it with all the violence of despair. The attitude, the action, the character of the head of the executioner, have all the fury of a wild beast. The vigour of action, the expression of head in the woman, display the highest pitch of force which the delineation of the passions can attain, without falling into those exaggerated contortions which destroy harmony of form.

In the other composition, Raffaello has studied to place upon the fore-ground a scene, which, as if to provide a sort of contrast to the first, and also to the fury of the other executioners, struggling with the mothers for the objects of their tenderness, becomes in some sort the last act of this drama. It is a mother sitting upon the ground, holding upon her knees her dead infant, and abandoning herself to a grief, calm, but so powerfully given by the painting, that the emotion communicates itself strongly to the spectator. It is impossible to see her weep without feeling softened; there is a sympathetic virtue in her tears.

We reckon only twelve subjects of tapestry, although there are really thirteen pieces. For, as we have seen, the Massacre of the Innocents forms two pieces on one subject.

The twelfth subject, and one which is considered as being among the most remarkable of these compositions, is that of the Ascension, of which the greatest dimension is naturally in height. Christ appears in the sky accompanied by two angels; he has just quitted the disciples, who occupy the lower part of the picture. A single sen-

timent governs all the persons of this composition, that of astonishment mingled with respect and adoration. All are on their knees, or are about to kneel; their looks are directed to the same point, whence results a sort of uniformity of posture, attitude, and idea, which gives little scope for description.

Tapestries are not framed, like pictures, by borders in relief; they must bear their own frame-work, which is also of tapestry.

Raffaello imagined to make this part, which, in an edging in relief, forms the ground of it, receive a series of small compositions, after the fashion of continuous friezes. He chose for their subject the celebration of the pontiff who had commanded this beautiful undertaking. Thus, under the form of a series of bas-reliefs, we find the delineation of the history of Leo X. A skilful graver has multiplied copies of this represented history, written in the manner, and after the style, of ancient art. Nothing better shows how well Raffaello was able to appropriate to himself the taste and the system of the historiographic sculptures of the Trajan column.

This series of compositions, done in camaieu, represents the entrance of Giovanni de' Medici, legate at Florence, after the death of his father. The tumult occasioned at Florence by the enemies of the Medici. The legate, Giovanni de' Medici, escaping under the habit of a simple monk. The pillage of the palace of the Medici; the carrying off of the statues, pictures and books which Lorenzo had collected. Giovanni de' Medici presenting himself to Federigo di Gonzaga, after the battle of Ravenna, and afterwards recovering his liberty, by escaping from his enemies. The punishment of those of the partisans of the Medici who were condemned to death after 1494. The massacre of the inhabitants of Prato. Giovanni de' Medici recalled, and reconducted to his palace with the acclamations of the citizens. The re-establishment of the former government. The cardinal, Giovanni de' Medici, presenting himself to the conclave after the death of Julius II. The same, elected pope under the name of Leo X., receiving the homage of the sacred college.

The borders of the same tapestries contain another series of subjects, taken from the Old and New Testaments, applied and composed in the same manner, and according to the same fancy of a frieze in bas-relief.

Judging from the small connexion which exists between these compositions, one is tempted to suspect that Raffaello, in such a combination of ornaments purely accessory, may have made use of a great number of sketches and of slight thoughts, escaped from his fertile pencil, which were the germs of more important compositions, and which we behold developed by him in greater works. This we should guess from the mere titles of these subjects, even if some of these to which we shall call attention did not furnish a proof of it.

The second frieze is composed of the following subjects: Joseph brought before Pharaoh, the Passage of the Red Sea, Moses receiving the Tables of the Law,¹ the Annunciation, Jesus Christ giving the Keys to St. Peter,² the Miraculous Draught of Fishes,³ Jesus Christ returning to Jerusalem after his Resurrection, St. Paul leaving the Ephesian Priests, St. Paul taken by the Jews before Festus, Corinthians receiving Baptism, the Fall of Simon the Sorcerer, St. Paul at Ephesus, the Israelites finishing the Veil of the Tabernacle, Jesus Christ amidst the Apostles, the Sacrifice of the Mass, Priests, Deacons, and other Ministers of the Altar.

We know not what space of time was required to perfect the twelve tapestries in Flanders, and at what precise epoch they arrived at Rome. It is probable that it was after the death of Leo X., which followed that of Raffaello by a year. If it was under the pontificate of Adrian VI.,⁴ his successor, who was notorious for his indifference to the arts, it is conceivable how the cartoons of Raffaello, the true originals of these beautiful compositions, and with which it would have been so interesting to have been able to compare these copies, were not reclaimed and

¹ A subject precisely repeated in the Loggie.

² Exactly repeated in one of the cartoons.

³ This seems to have been the sketch of the cartoon described above.

⁴ He died in 1523, after a reign of twenty months and sixteen days.

brought back to Rome. What is certain is, that not a fragment of them ever returned to Rome.

These cartoons had each of them been cut up into several perpendicular pieces, probably by the workers in tapestry, to facilitate their labour. The work finished, they remained forgotten in the manufactories, until Charles I., king of England, got possession of them. They were at first preserved in a paltry case, at the palace of Whitehall, where their fragments were sometimes put together, and exhibited. The troubles of the reign of Charles I., and the tragic end of that prince, a friend of the arts, may have prevented the honour which these precious fragments merited, from being rendered to them. They were still among the numerous and superb pictures of his collection, when the whole was set up for public sale, and Cromwell gave an order for their purchase, by which means they were kept in England. Under king William, they were finally put together, and restored each to its former condition, which was done by backing them with paper, strengthened with canvas, and repairing the little local alterations which their colour had suffered. A fine gallery was prepared expressly to receive them, at the palace of Hampton Court, where they were framed, suspended, and attended to with all the precautions which could guarantee them from the injuries of atmosphere and damp. Transported for some years to the royal palace of Windsor, they have since been taken back to the palace of Hampton Court, where they may be now seen.

De Piles¹ informs us that Bernard Van Orlay of Brussels, Michael Coxis of Malines, and other Flemings who had been pupils of Raffaello at Rome, were charged, either by himself or by Leo X., with superintending the work of the tapestry, upon their return to Flanders. In fact, this work demanded a double care. The most important was that of fidelity in the expression of forms, character, and style of design. We may imagine that Raffaello, being unable to attend in person, must have had the greatest interest in confiding this superintendence to artists formed by himself.

¹ De Piles, *Abregé de la Vie des Peintres*, p. 170

As regards the mechanical management of the tapestry-stuffs, no work seems to have combined, in a higher degree, richness with perfection. The manufactories of that time used much silk, gold, and silver. It is easy to conceive what a sensation these tapestries must have produced at Rome, being then in all their freshness, and all their splendour of tints. Vasari speaks of them in terms of perfect enthusiasm. This work, says he,¹ seems the effect rather of a supernatural art, than of human industry. We cannot cease from wondering how, with mere threads, it becomes possible to render all the details of the figures, all the softness of the flesh, and all the accessories of plants, animals, and buildings, so that the deceived eye takes them for the work of the pencil.

Notwithstanding all that the novelty of the thing would naturally add, at that time, to the sentiment of admiration, it must be admitted that still, after the lapse of three centuries, numerous portions of these works are capable of producing a species of illusion which cannot be equalled by painting itself. This illusion results from the nature, or, to speak more clearly, from the material itself used in the mechanical process of tapestry, which in imitations of draperies, stuffs, and habiliments, employed the very substances of which they are formed in their models. The same may be said of armour, cuirasses, shields, and other objects of ancient military equipment, in the finishing of which metallic substances are used. It is obvious that, in all these objects, the employment of the colours of the painter cannot, as regards illusion, dispute the advantage with the employment of substances of wool or silk, and of metallic threads of gold or silver, which are able to render the imitations literally *identical* with the object imitated.

Thus, even to the present day all these parts of the tapestries have preserved a singular force of tone, and power of illusion, while the remaining portions have naturally lost, by the mere action of time, more or less of their first vividness. Some portions of colour, the white and

¹ Vasari, *ibid.*, p. 213, *et seq.* Baldinucci, *Notizie*, &c., i 225

scarlet especially, where threads of silk have been used, are faded; and thence has arisen more than one defect of harmony, caused by the contrast of the other parts where the mineral colours have retained all their primitive freshness.

Whatever the changes which have befallen the tapestries from these causes, they are still one of the monuments which most distinctly proclaim the power and grandeur of Raffaello's genius.

The saloon called the Hall of Constantine is the first and greatest of all those to which Raffaello has also given his name in the Vatican. Although it was not painted until after his death, by Giulio Romano, and some others, doubtless of his school, we should not feel justified in omitting a description of it from those of his last labours. In the first place it is certain,¹ that by the order of Leo X., Raffaello had not only made all the designs for the principal paintings of this hall, but also, besides the plan of its decoration, had already personally commenced some of the details, as is evidenced by the two beautiful allegorical figures which we shall presently mention.

The Hall of Constantine, or at least the subjects which it contains, show us clearly the historico-allegorical system in relation with the history of the holy see, which Raffaello never ceased to follow and realise in his compositions in the halls, after completing the Hall of the *Segnatura*.

We have already remarked, that the four subjects of the succeeding Hall are nothing but historical allegories, or allusive subjects, the aim of which is to represent one thing under the form of some other thing. Thus it is that certain particular facts of the time and history of the pontificates of Julius II. and of Leo X. are found traced by the pencil of Raffaello, under the titles or externals of facts borrowed either from the Scriptures or from ancient history.

In the last of the Halls, that of *Torre Borgia*, the policy

¹ Vasari, *ib.*, 212.

of the court of Rome could not fail to celebrate the munificence of Charlemagne towards the church. As in the peristyle or vestibule of Saint Peter's we behold the equestrian statues of the two principal benefactors of the Romish church, Constantine and Charlemagne; so, and in the same spirit, it was deemed fitting that the first hall, to correspond with the last, should contain the history or the first Roman emperor who, having embraced Christianity, is related to have made the donation of Rome to pope Sylvester.

Before giving an account of the great subjects of which two only were painted from the designs and compositions of Raffaello, we must fix our attention for a moment upon two of the allegorical figures which form the decoration of the skirting of this vast hall, and which were painted in oil by himself.

Towards the close of Raffaello's life, a Venetian painter, Sebastiano del Piombo, whose talent, as we shall see, it was sought to oppose to that of Raffaello, had, in his ignorance of fresco, formed the design of painting in oil upon plaster. Raffaello, equally expert in both methods of painting, desired also to try the new process; and he purposed to employ it in the paintings of the hall of Constantine. The stucco was accordingly prepared with this view. We learn from Vasari that the success did not correspond to the hopes which had been formed of this innovation. In fact, Giulio Romano, when he afterwards proceeded to paint the Battle of Constantine, removed the stucco that had been prepared for oils, and returned to the ordinary process employed in fresco painting.

There still, however, exist, in the skirting of this hall, two large and beautiful figures, painted in oil, by Raffaello, who probably executed them as an experiment of the process he desired to essay. Time has proved in these two works, as in those of Sebastian, in several places, that oil painting turns black upon plaster, in the composition of which lime is an ingredient. With this exception, and although their darkened tone shows very strongly in this hall with those of the frescoes, Raffaello's two figures are well preserved in other respects.

They represent, in a size larger than life, Justice and Mercy. The first is remarkable for its broad and noble arrangement of drapery, and its graceful position and attitude. Her head is turned, and her gaze is fixed upon the scales which she holds in one hand; the other hand rests on the lower part of the neck of an ostrich, which stands at her side. What can have suggested the ostrich as an attribute of justice? Truly, allegorical signs are too often enigmas, the meaning of which is lost.

The same doubt does not apply to the lamb which is at the feet of Mercy. This symbol is the only accessory which indicates her; but the spectator needs it not, as the first glance has identified her, by her attitude and the air of her physiognomy.

Leo X. earnestly wished to witness the completion of the decorations of the Hall of Constantine, and Raffaello, as we shall see, had very good reasons for satisfying the pope's eagerness. It appears that he prepared all the materials for this new and great enterprise while he was at work on the Transfiguration, the last of his oil paintings, and which no doubt prevented him from completing the designs of the Hall of Constantine.

Four great subjects, relative to the history of the first Christian emperor, were to occupy the four sides of this vast space—namely, the Vision of Constantine, his Battle against Maxentius, his Baptism, and his Donation of Rome to the Pope.

Raffaello seems to have taken these subjects in the order in which we have named them, which is also the chronological order of the events represented. We shall see that he made the designs of the two first, which will authorise us in placing their paintings among his inventions, and consequently among his works, although they were not actually executed until after his death. But we shall hold ourselves exempt from mentioning the other two,—those of the Baptism, and the Donation, otherwise than to assign the invention and the execution of them to Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni, Raffaello's two legatees. Vasari names them both,¹ and associates them

¹ Vita de Francesco Penni.

with the works of this great hall; the *inventions* of which, he adds, *are in a great measure due to Raffaello*. These words perfectly agree with the existence of the two designs of which we shall speak. But they confirm also that which is indicated by the style, the taste, and the composition of the Baptism and the Donation, namely, that these two subjects were entirely the work of the two legatees, probably, indeed, of one only. As it is an unquestionable fact that the Vision and the Battle occupied the pencil only of Giulio Romano, it is probable that Francesco Penni alone painted the other two.¹ The Baptism which bears the date 1524, and that of the Donation, represent, agreeably to the allusive practice followed by Raffaello in the other paintings of the halls, pope Saint Sylvester, under the features of Clement VII., the then reigning pope.²

It is certain that Raffaello was the author of the two most beautiful subjects in the Hall of Constantine; that they were painted from the designs he had left. Richardson speaks as from personal observation, of the design of the Celestial Vision, done with a pen, and tinted and shaded; and he indicates the different collections through which this work passed before it adorned the cabinet of the duke of Devonshire.

Raffaello in this conception has chosen for his subject a moment in which the emperor is haranguing his soldiers. Faithful observer of the costumes of antiquity, he has skillfully conformed to the models of the *bas-reliefs* on the Trajan column, or on the triumphal arches, which often represent the action of haranguing the troops, an action also frequently found upon a multitude of imperial coins. Constantine is, in the same way, represented before his tent, *in suggestu*, exhorting his soldiers.

As far as regards the general style and the details, we might regard it as a composition altogether antique, as one of those scenes so often represented on the Roman monuments. But the emperor's head and his eyes, directed

¹ Vasari, Life of Francis Penni.

² Bellori, *Descriz. delle Pitture*. 120

towards Heaven, carry the attention of the spectators also to the upper part of the picture, where he beholds with Constantine a radiant cross borne by three small angels, and a little further, these three well known words, EN TOYTO NIKA, "In this conquer." Thus is the true subject expressed

The background shows us some of the principal monuments of Rome, and numerous soldiers hastening to augment the groups surrounding the tribune. In the foreground, at the foot of the tribune, are two young men holding the emperor's arms, and on the other side, the grotesque figure of a dwarf, who, with both hands, is endeavouring to place a helmet upon his head.

Various reasons have been given for the introduction of this burlesque supererogation. But Richardson tells us that the original design had neither the figure of the two young men, nor that of the dwarf, nor several other accessories, reserved perhaps for the execution of the painting. We must, therefore, demand the explanation of these details from Giulio Romano, or, if you will, from Bellori.¹

The same Bellori, agreeing with Vasari in assigning to Raffaello the invention and composition of the Battle of Constantine, observes,² that Vasari, only employs the word sketch in speaking of the design which is comprised in this grand conception, and he considers that this word does not sufficiently express the idea. Andrea Sacchi, he adds, had seen at Bologna the original design from which Giulio Romano worked. This design was, in point of fact, in the possession of count Malvasia at Bologna, where it was admired by Richardson.

We have given these details to prove, that if the honour of the free and bold execution of this grand subject is really due to Giulio Romano, we must yield to Raffaello that of the grandest historical composition which exists in painting. In the original design, this vast scene of battle was conceived still more numerous in figures, more

¹ Bellori says that this dwarf is the portrait of a burlesque personage who diverted the court, and who belonged to the cardinal Ippolito de' Medici.—*Descriz. delle Pitture*, p. 107.

² Bellori, *ib.*, 115

varied in its aspects; the background represented a range of mountains, at the foot of which detached bodies of the two armies were fighting; features which, amplifying the subject, would have contributed to give it a larger extent to the eye. Giulio Romano, in his execution, has suppressed several of these details. He appears to have applied himself to render the composition more crowded, more compact, to give it the appearance of a closer engagement. He has accordingly been reproached with having compressed his battle in one straight line, too much like that which sculpture, from the limited nature of its means, was compelled, in ancient art, to represent upon bas-relief, producing but a restricted image of the subject.

No painter could better than Raffaello imitate the antique in borrowing from the statues and bas-reliefs of the ancients only that which suited the genius of painting. Too often has the mistake been made of attempting to produce by the pencil the style and gust peculiar to sculpture, either in the composition of pictures which are nothing but bas-reliefs, or in transferring to the character of design that species of coldness which marble seems to inspire; or, again, in seeking to imitate in another kind of drapery the stiffness of the angular and perpendicular folds of statues. Raffaello, gifted with a just feeling and sure taste, has given upon this point the lesson and the model of the just medium which ought to be followed. None knew better than he how to profit by the examples of antique sculpture; but it was with the resources and fitting appliances of his own art that he adopted into his paintings their practice and their style.

There is no doubt that the admirable bas-reliefs of the battles of Trajan on the arch of Constantine, with those of the column of Trajan, guided Raffaello in the general idea, as well as in the separate parts and details of his great battle. We certainly find there more than one kind of combination derived from the antique. No doubt the criticism which should analyze this great composition, figure by figure and group by group, could not fail to discover borrowed sentiments and ideas, imitations of its

movements, actions, or expressions. Yet we think it would be impossible for it to point out one single figure transferred from the ancient marbles, in such a manner that the one could be said to be a repetition of the other.

This is what, in the production of works of art, should be the spirit of that imitation which those who come after may permit themselves of the works of their predecessors; and such is the character which has always, in the succession of epochs, marked men of genius of every class. They only follow each other in their works like travellers, who, to describe the same country, traverse the same roads, and see the same places, but, according to the variety of their talents, receive different impressions from them, and give different views of them.

Whatever aid Raffaello may have derived from the works of antiquity, certainly he found there, no more than in those of his modern predecessors, any model for a composition so vast, so complicated, so full; and that which is peculiarly excellent, although Giulio Romano has limited its effect, is, that there is no confusion in all this, and that the eye needs no explanation.

We there clearly distinguish the general movement of Constantine's army, which pursues the enemy, and obliges him to precipitate himself into the Tiber, wherein we see Maxentius about to be swallowed up with his horse; whilst further on, the same movement takes place upon the Flaminian bridge, where, according to Eusebius, the tyrant had prepared an arch of timber, which was contrived to open and give way under Constantine, if he attempted to follow him into Rome.

One of the bas-reliefs of the arch of Constantine,—I speak of those which were executed in his life-time,¹ and which bear the marks of the decline of art,—represents in the same way the defeat of Maxentius. The whole army, men and horses, appear submerged in the waters of the Tiber, personified near an arcade, above which, before it was taken down, rose the figure of Constantine crowned by Victory.

¹ We must always distinguish from them those taken from the Arch of Trajan.

Thus did Raffaello follow in his composition the evidences of history and those of monuments.

What we have said of the *ensemble* of this great conception applies to each of its parts. To describe them would, however, be as difficult as it were superfluous. It is a concatenation of scenes wherein all the furies of the murderous arts of battle are represented according to the system of war of the ancients; a system which gave to the dramatic action of art what is denied it by modern strategy, which only puts the masses in motion. Formerly, individual valour was more frequently brought into action. A great general combat was naturally nothing but a collection of personal combats, fought hand to hand. The genius of the artist was then only occupied with the selection of these particular actions to form a whole.

Raffaello has here shown himself inimitable in the multitude and combination of the groups of combatants, all connected with the general subject, yet each easily detachable by the diversity of their movements and the contrast of their expressions. For instance, the spectator delights to turn his eyes from the spectacle of blood and fury to the touching episode in the foreground, of a father conveying the dead body of his son from the fight; nor can we omit to cite as the principal merit of this composition, the art with which Constantine is seen predominantly over the whole scene, distinguished amidst all the movement, and placed in artistic connexion with his rival, who cannot avoid death between the flood about to engulf him, and the lance of the conqueror, immediately menacing him.

This skill in bringing forward the principal personage is not the only conformity we perceive between the Battle of Constantine and that of Alexander by Lebrun. The latter, with the genius of a great master, and a remarkable talent for composition, has profited by his predecessor's work. Yet, notwithstanding the infinite beauties which his genius has lavishly produced in his series of battles, he has not prevented that of Constantine from remaining the type and most perfect model of battle painting, or the *heroic style*.

There is in the productions of art so close a connexion between the ground-work of the idea of a subject and that which constitutes the form of language employed to express this idea, that one is often at a loss to decide which contributes most to the impression, the fundamental idea which communicates its virtue to the form, or the form which so greatly contributes to render this idea manifest. But in those arts which speak to the mind only through the medium of the eyes, of what importance are the practical means which render the conception visible. To appreciate this, it is sufficient to call to mind what becomes of a *chef d'œuvre* of painting, reproduced by a feeble copy or inferior engraving. It was, then, possible for Raffaello's invention to lose much of its merit by an execution in which neither his hand nor his direction took part. It was possible also for a certain reservation, even though the designs of the master were followed, to give the work that sort of coldness into which he who merely regards himself as expressing another's thoughts too frequently falls. But Giulio Romano had too thoroughly identified himself with his master's manner to incur this reproach. We might even say, that, finding himself more at liberty, he profited by this independence to yield more boldly to the desire of acquiring in the execution a new class of originality. In more than one of Raffaello's works, he had shared in the labour, in such a manner, however, as always to leave in doubt the part which belonged to him. Here, on the contrary—that is to say, in the most extensive page ever traced by an historical pencil, he is no longer an associate, and all the merit of that which must be called the genius of execution belongs to himself alone.

We cannot, then, too highly praise the painting of the Battle of Constantine, for the vigour of the design and the energy of expression which the artist has displayed in the work; for the able arrangement of the numerous figures and groups represented, without exaggeration, in the most contrasted positions; for the clear and intelligible distribution of the masses, in which every action is distinctly described; for the admirable imitation of antique forms, costumes, and armour; for the vivacity and during

of a pencil, which, faithful historian of the subject and of its spirit, has not fallen short of any of the qualities which the circumstances required. We cannot but believe that he must have derived from the subject itself the enthusiasm and warmth of execution which we all admire. It seems, says an able critic,¹ as if the artist, led away by the vivacity of the action which he represents, participates in the war like ardour he is painting, and, so to speak, combats with his pencil.

As to the colour and the general tone of the painting, it has been reproached, indeed, with somewhat of harshness, with over blackness in the shades, some little asperity in the effect, and a certain crudity of outline. Yet Nicolas Poussin, a good judge in these matters, examining one day, with Bellori, the work of Giulio Romano, said to him that the apparent hardness in this picture pleased him, and appeared to harmonize with the character of *so fierce a contest, and well to represent the fury and impetuosity of the combatants.*²

There are, in fact, certain harmonies, the result of certain accidental faults, which we would not exchange for their opposites.

We have already mentioned the reason which induced us to place the grand compositions in the Hall of Constantine before the picture of the Transfiguration, although the former were, as we have just seen, executed after the death of Raffaello, and only from his designs. The Transfiguration is so well known as his last work, and its recollection is so firmly associated with the idea of the death of its author, that it would have appeared strange had we named any works of his after that with which he terminated his career. It is certain also, that the designs which served for the decoration of the Hall of Constantine, must have been executed before he terminated the Transfiguration, if it be true (which, however, is the subject of some controversy) that the picture did not receive the last touches from his hands.

Having at last arrived at this celebrated work, we can-

¹ Bellori, *Descrizione della Pitture*, p. 146.

² Id. *ib.*

not refrain from the recital of some details not generally known, although most authentic, and which are connected in a particular manner both with the history of Raffaello and with that of the picture of the Transfiguration, by which we shall terminate the series of our descriptions.

Raffaello had now attained the meridian height of his talent, his reputation, and his credit. Never before or since has any artist, by the sole power of his genius, reached such a point, either of that general celebrity which of any ordinary name creates a surname of glory, or of that personal consideration which takes an individual from the common ranks of society, and elevates him in public estimation to the distinguished position usually the lot only of birth and fortune.

The infinite productions which had on all sides spread the fame of his talent, were due to the unexampled concurrence of able men whose master he had been, and who, proud to remain his pupils, themselves shared in a degree the glory which surrounded the chief of the school. Thus they were seen eager to form a sort of retinue for him when he went to court.¹ Raffaello also filled at court an honorary office; in a word, his social existence seemed that of a prince:² *Viveva da Principe*.

Michel Angelo, the stoic Michel Angelo, living alone³ and working alone, formed, by his sombre humour, his unsocial character, and as much in his person and manner of living as in the taste of his works, the most striking contrast to Raffaello.

We have already seen that it was next to impossible but that there should exist between them, either at the outset or with the progress of time, a real rivalry, in whatever sense we take the word, or whatever importance or colour we give to the sentiment which it expresses. In speaking of the controversies as to what Raffaello owed or

¹ "Every time he went to court, he had a train of fifty painters, all of them notable artists, who attended to do him honour."—Vasari, ib. 228

² Id. ib

³ "He said to Raffaello one day, as the latter passed by his house, 'You march with a grand retinue, like a general.' 'And you,' replied Raffaello, 'go alone, like a hangman.'"

did not owe to the works of Michel Angelo, we acknowledged that he must undoubtedly have received from him some impulsion. But in this sort of influence of one artist over another, we have pointed out that many kinds and degrees are to be distinguished; and that, in fact, nothing indicates that Raffaello ever sought, we will not say directly to copy Michel Angelo, but even to follow his traces, to appropriate in any way his style and manner. There was, in the first place, a too great incompatibility between the faculties of the two rivals, and next, we must recognise in Raffaello a peculiarity, that of being himself, the impossibility of becoming the follower of another, the remaining always original even in his undoubted imitations of the antique style, far more in accordance with his taste than that of Michel Angelo could ever be.

This was certainly one of the causes which raised Raffaello so high, which gave so great a celebrity to his works, that, at the period of his life and history which we have reached, we see that he was, in fact, in the opinion of all, without any valid rival.

Michel Angelo, indeed, since the completion, at the end of 1512, of the paintings in the Sistine chapel, no longer played any part at Rome. We first find him engaged for a long time in quarrels which arose out of the execution of the mausoleum of Julius II. We next see him employed by Leo X., in 1516, at Florence, in the plans for the façade of St. Lorenzo; then, in the working of the new quarries of *Seravezza*, where, according to Vasari, he passed several years. Now these years had been spent by Raffaello in multiplying his works, in perfecting his manner, and in augmenting his reputation.

Nothing was heard of but Raffaello, fame had no voice but for him. The general conversation of his partisans and admirers was, "that his paintings were superior to those of Michel Angelo, in the beauty of their colouring, the merit of their invention, and the charm of their grace, and that the design was not inferior to these other qualities. That, on the contrary, Michel Angelo, with the exception of his designs, could not maintain any comparison at all; so that Raffaello, at least, his

equal in design, even if he did not surpass him, was certainly his superior in colouring."¹ This opinion, which daily gained ground, produced (as usual) a spirit of opposition, in which Michel Angelo was excited to the highest point of the sentiment of rivalry, to use no stronger expression.

One is, indeed, disposed to characterize this sentiment in a less honourable manner, when we learn from Vasari, himself the pupil and passionate admirer of Michel Angelo, what the latter devised in order to oppose Raffaello, without showing or compromising himself.

We must first call to mind that Michel Angelo, a born sculptor, a learned, bold, and profound designer, only became a painter, as we have seen above, on an occasion, if we may so express ourselves, and because the practice of design naturally leads to the practice of painting. It was against his will that he quitted the sculptures of the mausoleums of Julius II. for the fresco paintings in the Sistine chapel. Fresco harmonized tolerably well with the practice of his design, especially in subjects which, placed at a distance above the spectator, demand neither the charms of an harmonious pencil, nor the elaborate cares of precise execution. Let us also remember that Michel Angelo afterwards obstinately refused to paint the Last Judgment in oil.² The art of oil painting was, he said, a woman's art, good only for the indolent and dawdling. *Arte da donna, e da persone agiate ed infingarde.* Thus it is very doubtful whether we really possess a single oil painting by Michel Angelo.³ Raphael, on the contrary, had with equal success practised every style and every mode of painting. If we consider the period of his history at which we now are, we shall see that his last oil paintings, such as the Saint Michael, the beautiful Holy Family for Francis I., and those which daily proceeded from his school, must have propagated in every place the renown and glory of his pencil.

¹ Vasari, *Vita di Sebast. Veneziano*, iv. 362.

² Vasari, *ib.*, iv. 375.

³ The Leda of Michel Angelo, which was sold to Francis I., was painted in distemper. (See Vasari, *Vit. di Mich. Ang.*, vi. 234.)

Michel Angelo having nothing to oppose to him but the learning and boldness of his design, could not struggle with advantage, without a painter, skilled in oil paintings, associating the effect of his colour with the forms and inventions of which he should furnish the type. He accordingly chose Sebastiano del Piombo, a Venetian and a good colourist, whom Agostino Chigi had already employed in his palace of *Trans-Tevere*, and who had since completed the paintings of the celebrated chapel of Santa Maria del Popolo, which has been mentioned above. Oil painting was so much the taste of Sebastiano, that he desired to substitute it everywhere for fresco, by changing the nature of the stucco. His process was at first successful; and we are disposed to believe that, wishing to conform to this novelty, Raffaello, as we have already mentioned, tried it in his *Two Virtues*, in the Hall of Constantine. Vasari, indeed, boasts of the beautiful preservation of the colours of the Christ, by Sebastiano, at San-Pietro in Montorio. But time has effectually done away with this praise, and with all that was expected from the new process.

However this may be, Michel Angelo privately connected himself with Sebastiano,¹ who was already inclined to favour his party against that of Raffaello. He proposed to him to paint the designs he should draw, and the offer was accepted. He flattered himself that his designs, acquiring, under the Venetian's art, harmony of tints, and a fine handling of the pencil, would victoriously compete with Raffaello, the more so that he himself, *hidden under the shade of a third party, sotto ombra di terzo*,² would become the judge of the combat. Michel Angelo, however, would appear not to have contented himself with so passive a part. Being the first to proclaim the superiority of the work in which he took such an interest, his sanction naturally found many echoes, and the reputation of Sebastiano was much augmented.

It was then, and in pursuance of this connivance, that Sebastiano obtained the commission to paint the chapel of Francesco Borgherini, at San Pietro in Montorio, where we

¹ Vasari, *Vita di Sebast.* 362.

see the Christ at the pillar, of which we have already spoken; and the design of which is more generally recognised as the work of Michel Angelo. On the ceiling of this chapel is represented the Transfiguration.

It appears that the secret of this association soon became known. We can easily conceive that Raffaello was not the last to recognise the design of Michel Angelo under the colouring of Sebastiano. Mengs,¹ without giving his authority, relates an observation of Raffaello, which does equal honour to his mind and to his character. Far from showing the slightest anger at this little conspiracy against him: "I rejoice," said he, "at the favour that Michel Angelo does me, since he proves therein that he thinks me worthy to compete with himself, and not with Sebastiano."

These details, hitherto little known, or undeveloped, are not foreign to the history of Raffaello, since they lead us to the last of his works, that in which the spirit of rivalry of which we have shown proofs, gave him as a competitor the same Sebastiano, who was charged to execute, in rivalry with the Transfiguration, and of the same size, the Raising of Lazarus.

The cardinal de' Medicis had commissioned Raffaello to paint the Transfiguration for his bishopric of Narbonne; the other work, it appears, had no fixed destination. After the death of Raffaello, the two paintings were exhibited to the public in the Hall of the Consistory, where, says the biographer of Sebastiano,² they both received the greatest praises, "and though," he adds, "the work of Raffaello, for the extreme grace and beauty it develops, has no equal, the efforts of Sebastiano were highly lauded."

This was a case in which to say with Pliny, *immensa differentia famæ*. It appears that this difference was at once foreseen. The cardinal sent to Narbonne the work of Sebastian. The Transfiguration remained at Rome, and was for a long time placed over the high altar of the church of San Pietro in Montorio. It is now in the Vatican.

¹ Mengs, i. 143

² Vasari, *Vita di Sebast.* Venez. 364.

The Raising of Lazarus, which is now in the National Gallery at London, and which was so long at Paris in the Orleans Gallery, certainly possesses fine qualities, a vigorous tone, and learned expression. But what avail all these qualities to a work which wants grandeur and nobleness of thought, beauty of form, and that grace or power of sentiment which constitute life, or supply its place, in works of art? This explains the great difference of renown which, in the opinion of centuries, has placed certain men and certain works so far above all others.

It is because the works of man are like man himself, composed of two elements, or two substances, so to speak. The work of art in which study and mechanical execution have too large a share, will ever (as is the case with physical qualities in reference to mental faculties) be deemed inferior to the work in which labour, learning, and execution shine also, but only as the ministers of genius, as the instruments of beautiful ideas, as the interpreters of profound sentiment; and of the most elevated conceptions. Let us say that it is this which has placed Raffaello beyond all comparison, not only with the rivals who in his time were opposed to him, but also with all those who have since essayed to compete with him. Thence this perpetuity of renown, which, when his works themselves have yielded to the action of time, shall place his name beside those of the great men of antiquity, to whom posterity has never ceased to pay a worship, addressed only to their memory.

The picture of the Transfiguration put the finishing stroke to the glory of Raffaello, not only because it was the last fruit of his genius, the greatest of his compositions in oils, but also because it is the work where are found in combination the greatest number of the highest merits peculiar to painting. It is that wherein he carried to the greatest perfection the excellency of the pencil, the energy of colouring, the magic of *clair-obscur*, and other practical qualities of which language alone cannot give an idea; let us add, without prejudice to the moral qualities, which we are accustomed to praise in his other productions. This painting, regarded under various points of view,



THE TRANSFIGURATION

arising from various combinations of mind, sentiment, and imagination has often exercised the observing spirit of the critics and connoisseurs, and has not ceased to furnish to learned analysis matter ever new for opinions and observations as useful to art as honourable to the subject.¹

We do not undertake here to give even an abridged detail of all the considerations which naturally arise from so abundant a store of criticism. Obligated to restrict ourselves to leading points, we shall confine ourselves to pointing out the difficulties connected with the composition of this subject, and the ability with which Raffaello triumphed over them.

He at once saw that it was in the nature of the subject, considered physically and historically, that his composition should occupy considerable length. This necessarily involved two spaces, or grounds, one above the other; and then two sorts of scenes, according to the text of the Gospel. Throughout, a general and connecting theme. *

In the upper part, Christ has quitted the summit of the earth, and is seen, as it were, ecstatically suspended in the air. He is not flying, he is not passing through aerial space: he is as though fixed and stationary between Elias and Moses, whose floating garments show them to have just descended from heaven. This is what must be called the luminous part of the painting, Christ being himself the focus of the light shed over the figures. Such a subject, treated with the idea of merely giving the effect of a dazzling brightness, emanating from a radiant body, might no doubt have offered to a painter, who was merely a colourist, the opportunity for a more brilliant effect; but it was not in Raffaello's manner to appeal in this manner to the eye, as Correggio or Rubens would probably have done. But who can say what the mind would have lost by what the eye might have gained? not that we suggest that this painting leaves much to be desired in colouring and effect, especially in the transfigured Christ. We cannot

¹ See *Examen analítico del quadro de la Transfiguracion de Rafáel de Urbino, seguido de algunas Observaciones sobre la pintura de los griegos, de Benito Pardo de Figueroa*. Parigi, 1804, in 8vo. See *Opere di Mengs*.

fail to recognise there, the idea and the realization of a luminous harmony, aerial, ably elaborated in the person of Christ, happily shed upon his head, his vestments, and upon the surrounding objects. This merit perhaps yields to that offered in the expression of divinity glowing throughout the whole scene, the aerial disposition of those three truly celestial figures, which contrast so well with those of the three apostles, struck with dazzled amazement, and prostrate on the top of the mountain. What gestures and attitudes could better indicate the marvellous brightness, which it was necessary, if not to represent, at least, to give the idea of? One of them has thrown himself with his face to the earth; the other turns away his head, and is in the act of falling; the third is covering his eyes with his hands, as if to shield them from the light which his sight cannot endure.

The second, or lower scene, is occupied by the rest of the apostles, who, according to the text of Scripture, had remained at the foot of the mountain. We are doubtful whether we are not sometimes under an illusion as to certain effects of Raffaello's paintings, attributing to the painter intentions which he was not at all actuated by, or of which he made no account; yet we may be assured that his works, inasmuch as they were inspired by the most correct and profound sentiment, are fertile in suggestions always various, interpretations ever new. May we not see, for example, in the close masses of this composition, whose compressed groups occupy and fill all the lower space of the picture, a natural means of contrast with the ground of the upper space, and of thus giving a greater scope to the aerial effect it was necessary to produce?

So much for the physical sense. Let us now see what Raffaello has imagined to satisfy the mind by the connexion of the two scenes, and the establishing the necessary unity, conformably with the narrative of the Gospel.

The apostles, remaining at the foot of the mountain, await the return of their Master. Here, a family, attracted by the renown of the miracles of Jesus, have brought him a young demoniac, in order to implore his Divine power against the evil spirit which agitates and

torments the unfortunate child. All the apostles appear filled with various sentiments of confusion and terror; but they all seem to say, and some express it in their gestures: *He whom you seek is not with us; wait for him; he is on this mountain*; several raised arms point to that height on which the other scene is taking place. Thus is established, for the eye as for the mind, the unity of time and place, so indispensable a condition in every composition.

We are aware that the picture of the Transfiguration has been objected to as infringing this rule. Some have even called it a work made up of two pictures. We think that what we have said will have mitigated the rigour of this censure; but let us go a little further, and see what would become of the composition if it were limited to the upper part. What does the subject demand? The representation of Jesus Christ transfigured, that is to say, in a glorified state on the summit of a mountain. The existence, or the view of the summit of Tabor, then, is a *datum* presented by the subject, and necessary to be rendered sensible to the eye.

To suppress this summit, and place the scene upon the level ground would be to deprive it of all that is picturesque in its physical aspect, of the interest of its ideal effect, and finally, of its fidelity to historical truth. Thus, to represent to the eye this ascension from the earth, which takes place from the summit of a mountain, the painter was necessarily obliged to render the form of his picture, in obedience to the spirit of his composition, as pyramidal as possible. When fidelity and propriety demand the accessory representation of a mountain, in whatever degree the height is reduced, (and Raffaello has certainly reduced it greatly) what would become of the composition of such a picture, if the lower two-thirds of the ground were to remain void and null to the eye as to the mind? For so great a space, left without figures in an historical piece, must needs be called void and null. Everything, then, required that the painter should fill up this considerable portion of the lower space of his picture with groups of those of the apostles who had not been

chosen to be witnesses of the spectacle above. Let it be admitted, further, that the episode of the young demoniac is not here an imaginary supplement to the subject, but belongs to the fidelity of the evangelical narration followed by the painter—a fresh merit in him, to find in the recital, the double advantage of occupying in an interesting manner the base of the mountain, and of giving a vivid interest to the assemblage of the nine apostles, who would otherwise have been wholly inactive personages; finally, of creating and exhibiting by those who indicate to the father of the child the upper locality, a connexion between the two spaces, a circumstance in itself establishing the moral unity of the ensemble.

We cannot close our description of the work with which Raffaello terminated his career, without remarking upon the eminent merits which it exhibits—merits which have relation more especially to the art of painting, properly so called, and which the general opinion proclaims, to manifest the highest point to which the artist, in this style, has ever attained.

It is generally acknowledged that in no other picture has he so nearly approached the confines of that perfection which, in its fulness, is perhaps forbidden to man in any of his works. The perfection which is compatible with the condition of human nature, consists perhaps, in having as few imperfections as possible. *Maximus ille est qui minimis urgetur*. Raffaello always aimed in his works at bringing into account various qualities, whose natural tendency is to exclude each other, and which are often only united in a certain manner, on conditions which occasion a loss on one side to an extent more or less commensurate with what is thought to be gained by the other, unless a concession be made on both sides. It happens hereupon that the work which is the result of such an union appears to lose reciprocally, in the opinion of those who profess an exclusive taste for one or the other of the two classes of merit.

It is thus that, in comparing the works of Raffaello's third manner with those of his first, or even his second, certain critics are led to prefer the unsophisticated design,

the ingenuous expression, the clear tone, and simple composition of his first pictures, to the vigour of drawing, thought, conception, and colouring, in his last. Yet this means nothing at bottom, but that it was the same with the talent of Raffaello as with all the productions of nature, which, subject to the laws of progression, lose in passing from one age to another, from one season to another season, the charm of qualities which belong to the spring-time of life or the youth of the year. Thus, the charm of the first age is replaced by the manly beauty of mature life. This is the sensible, and it seems to us the truest, image of the various periods of Raffaello's talent, cut down in the period of maturity.

Those who have as artists examined most strictly his picture of the Transfiguration, have acknowledged that it contains more practical beauties or charms of execution than any other of his great works.¹ They have acknowledged that its style is generally broader and fuller, the manner of painting more finished, the clair-obscur better managed. Vasari, however, reproaches him with having used lamp-black in the shades.

Artists who, above all things, require that the painter should give proof of knowledge and correctness in the details, or the parts which they call *study*, always applaud the precision of the forms and the truth of the drawing in the hands, the feet, and, more than all, in the heads, in which great truth is united with much grandeur of character. They admire the draperies, flowing and finished; the hair treated with as much variety as delicacy; and in the head of the young demoniac and in that of the man who is holding him, an energy of expression which Raffaello himself perhaps never surpassed.

Let us conclude our eulogy of this chef-d'œuvre in the words of Vasari on the head of Christ: "It was," he says, "the greatest effort of an art which could advance no further, and this last term of the painting marked also the term of the life of the painter. He never touched pencil more."²

¹ Mengs, *Opere*, i. 135, *et seq.*

² Vasari, *ibid.*, 212.

The Transfiguration was the last of Raffaello's painting, though not his last work. What we have already seen, both of the multiplicity of the undertakings which he simultaneously conducted, and the great number of assistants whom he employed, has shown that many of his works proceeding together, it would not have been possible, even in his own time, to have fixed their successive order with exact precision. Still more useless were it now to apply any strict investigation to the subject.

It is readily understood that so great a composition as the Transfiguration, requiring much time in completing, must have been taken up and discontinued more than once, and though not finally terminated in some parts, might have been so reputed as a whole, at the death of Raffaello, although there were many finishing touches still to be desired. This theory will reconcile the contradictions which exist between the opinion of Vasari, who speaks of the work as entirely finished by Raffaello, and more than one old tradition, more than one observation of modern critics, who point out certain differences of manner, among which they have thought they recognised that of Giulio Romano.

The care which Raffaello bestowed upon the execution of the Transfiguration, did not then prevent him from attending to other works, in which it appears to us, he must have taken a great interest. These works, as we have already said, were those of the great Hall of Constantine, the completion of which was urged on by Leo X.

The dimensions of this hall gave opportunities for a great variety of decorative objects. We have said that Raffaello had already given, in two beautiful allegorical figures, the models of the decoration of the basement, and that two of his designs had served as a type for the two great compositions of the history of Constantine. Vasari exhibits him as still occupied with plans for the decorations of the upper part of this hall, where he represented in niches¹ a line of popes, each accompanied by the two Virtues which characterized him. The head of one of these

¹ Vasari, *Vit. di Giul. Rom.* iv. 331, 332.

popes is shown as having been actually painted by Raffaello. It is certainly distinguished by a tone less red than that of the other pictures in this hall. It is probable that he may have worked in the upper part of this vast decoration, to give his assistants, as he had already done in the Virtues of the basement, a sort of specimen adapted to regulate the operations of their pencil. Little figures, holding books or other attributes, are distributed in the intervals. The whole was executed after Raffaello's death by Giulio Romano. It is very probable that these were the inventions which occupied the last days of Raffaello, since we see that he was not able to complete, even in the form of sketches, the whole of these works.

These grand projects, the works of the Loggie, those of the cartoons for the tapestries, the searches and copies after antique productions, the construction of Saint Peter's, and many other occupations, had necessarily involved him in large advances of money, so that it is said Leo X. already owed him heavy sums.¹ There is every reason to believe that, on the one hand, the pope had the intention of discharging his debts to Raffaello in a manner which should suit both parties; and that, on the other, Raffaello had long contemplated placing the pope under the necessity of paying him in a kind of coin which often supplies the place of money—we mean certain places and certain lucrative dignities, of which sovereigns have the disposal.

Vasari, a contemporary historian,² relates that Raffaello had been flattered with the intimation, that, when he should have terminated all the works of the walls of the Vatican, his recompence should be a cardinal's hat, which the pope reserved for him. In fact, Leo X. did project a numerous promotion of personages, amongst whom, says the same biographer, several had far less merit than Raffaello. Nearly all the writers, both of the time and later,³ have mentioned the circumstance; and the following ob-

¹ *Essendo creditore di Leone di buona somma.* (Vasari, *Vit. di Raffaello*, iii. 225.)

² *Id. ib.*

³ Frederic Zuccaro, *Let. pitt.*, vi. 129. De Piles, *Vie des Peintres*

servations may render the statement additionally probable.

In the first place, here, as in many other points, we must be careful not to judge the proceedings of one age by the opinions of another. The eminent dignity of cardinal was not always considered under the merely religious point of view, which has since been attached to it. It did not then—any more, indeed, than now—require that the person decorated with the purple should be in orders. We can say further, that, at this epoch, there had been introduced into the bestowal of ecclesiastical benefices, as well as into the manners of the clergy, some abuses which strongly contrasted with the regularity which has since prevailed. It happened, too, more than once to Leo X. to subserve in the choice of persons for the cardinalate, less the duty of a pontiff than the predilections of a man of taste, the passionate friend of arts and letters.¹

With reference to Raffaello himself, considered as a painter, we will observe, that the opinion of the time had not established, as to some professions, certain incompatibilities which depend on the various ways of viewing things, according to time and country. The distance which later centuries may have established between the exercise of the arts of design, and the possession of an eminent dignity in the church, would not exist, at least in the same degree, at a period when painting, being principally employed in decorating sacred places, almost exclusively treated of religious subjects, and when the cloisters themselves contained able artists in every class.

Lastly, knowing, as we do, that celebrity, riches, and high position of fortune ever confer upon those who enjoy such advantages a consideration which justifies the elevation to which they aspire, we must acknowledge that all these titles to social superiority were united in Raffaello. He had at Rome a considerable property, possessing a beautiful palace in the city, and in the neighbourhood a pretty country house. He was very rich.² Cœlio Cal-

¹ Some candidates, even afterwards, owed, like Sadoletto, their promotion chiefly to the celebrity of their talent.

² He died worth about 8000*l.*—a large sum for that period.

cagnini calls him *vir prædives*. He held at court the office of groom of the chamber (*cubicularius*), and he had much credit with the pope. Vasari tells us, that he lived not as a painter, but as a prince: *non da pittore, ma du principe*.

But certain more special facts warrant the belief that he aimed at the cardinalate. To render this ambition on his part more practically intelligible, we must observe that in disposing of a *hat*, the pope conferred a distinction, with which he bestowed the title and the revenue attached to it, and dispensing the possessor from spiritual functions, answering to what is elsewhere called a *sinecure*. It appears that the state of marriage was not compatible with this title; and here, again, we have explained Raffaello's repugnance to marrying, or at least, his delay in accepting the honourable match offered to him.

Intimate with the most distinguished persons in Rome, he reckoned among his friends cardinal Bibiena, who, wishing him to marry, offered him his niece.

We have the proof of this not only in Vasari, but also in a letter from Raffaello himself to one of his uncles, from which Richardson has given some extracts.¹ In this letter he refers to the proposal of marriage made to him by the cardinal, and which the uncle supported; but he there says expressly that he thinks he has, for rejecting the offer, more reasons than his uncle has for counselling him to accept it. The letter is dated July 1514. He demands three or four years before deciding.

It may be readily conceived that the habit of independence, and perhaps a well known attachment, were for him sufficient reasons for the delay he demanded. The assigned term having arrived, the cardinal renewed his offer, and it was then that Raffaello, so closely pressed, appears to have stood in need of a more powerful reason for deferring yet longer the contract of marriage, which proceeded no further than a betrothal, as we learn from the epitaph on Maria Bibiena, which was placed in the Pantheon (*S. Maria della Rotonda*) near the chapel della

¹ See Appendix, No. IV.

Madona del Sasso, erected by Raffaello, and which, a short time after, became his own sepulchre. This epitaph, reported by Vasari, was removed when Carlo Maratti placed there the bust of Raffaello, and the inscription which was put at the foot. It appears by the text of the epitaph¹ that it was not placed there until after the death of Raffaello, and that it corresponded with that composed by the cardinal Bembo, which is indicated by the words *sponsæ ejus*. The rest states that Maria Bibiena died before the marriage, *ante nuptiales faces*.

This death, which restored Raffaello to entire independence, probably strengthened more and more in his mind the hope he had conceived of receiving a cardinal's hat in payment of the large advances he had made to Leo X.

In this state of things, and of doubt as to what honours and fortune fate had in store for him, Raffaello approached his last hour. There has hitherto prevailed, as to the cause of the fatal malady which brought upon him so untimely death, an opinion which recent information has involved in very considerable doubt. It has been repeated from biographer to biographer, that the malady which destroyed Raffaello arose from an excessive abuse of the pleasures of love; that after one of these excesses, he was seized with a violent fever, the cause of which he concealed from his physicians, who, consequently, attributing it to over-heat in the system, had him bled; and that the loss of blood completed his prostration of strength.²

¹ The epitaph runs thus :

Marie Antonii F. Bibienæ, sponsæ ejus,
 Quæ lætos hymeneos morte prævertet
 Et ante nuptiales faces virgo est elata
 Baltassar Turrinus Piscien. Leon. X. Datar.
 Et Joannes Baptista Branconius Aquilan, a cubic.
 B. M. ex testamento posuerunt
 Curante Hieronymo Vagnino Urbinat.
 Raphaëli propinquo,
 Qui dotem quoque hujus sacelli sua pecunia auxit.

² This is the account given by Vasari, an account which has been credited, although without any proof, but also without any contradiction up to the present time. In the translation, however, of the present

Warned of his approaching end, Raffaello made a will, of which, the first disposition, after sending away his mistress, was to leave her a sufficient maintenance. The rest of his fortune, which had considerably augmented since the state in which he had described it, in the letter to his uncle, in 1514, he divided between two of his pupils, Giulio Romano, who had always been his favourite, and Francesco Penni, surnamed *il Fattore*, and one of his uncles, a priest at Urbino. He appointed as his executor Baldassare da Pescia, secretary to the papal datary, whom he desired to appropriate from his fortune sufficient to restore, in the church of Santa Maria de la Rotonda, one of the niched chapels which adorn it.¹ Raffaello

work, published at Milan, in 1829, (by M. Longhena,) we find new details of the causes and circumstances of this melancholy event. Having established the improbability of the excess to which it has been supposed Raffaello gave himself up, with a person whom he had been intimate with as a mistress for several years, and the likelihood that his illness may have arisen from some other cause, and was one of those fevers of which medicine at that period could know very little, signor Longhena relates the opinion which is communicated to him by the celebrated signor Missirini, and several details hitherto unknown. Signor Missirini writes that Francesco Cancellieri, an indefatigable collector of the slightest particulars relative to past centuries, and of documents before unknown, showed him an ancient manuscript, which he had got from the cardinal Antonelli, and which contains the following narration of the death of Raffaello :

"Raffaello Sanzo was of a refined and most delicate constitution ; his life, from its outset, had hung upon the smallest thread ; his frame was all spirit ; his physical strength so limited that it was a wonder he existed so long as he did. Thus weak of body, while working one day in the Farnesina, he received the command to repair to court. Prompt to obey, he instantly proceeded thither without waiting for his equipage, and ran all the way to the Vatican without stopping. When he arrived he was all breathless, and perspired profusely ; and, standing for a long time in this condition in one of the vast halls, talking with the pope about the progress of St. Peter's, he felt a sudden chill throughout his whole person ; and, on returning home, was seized with a fever which ended in death." "The perusal of this paper," adds M. Missirini, "was for me most satisfactory, and my confidence in it was augmented still more by the assurance which was given as to the accuracy of its details by the celebrated painter Camuccini, who, with great talent, combines a most extensive knowledge of the history of the masters of his art."

¹ This part of his will was carried into effect. A statue of a *Madonna* was executed in marble by Lorenzo-Lotti for the altar, and is now

died, in the most Christian state of mind, at the age of thirty-seven, on the 7th of April, 1520.

If grief be in proportion to the loss sustained, no loss of this kind could cause a grief equal to that occasioned by the death of Raffaello, who had attained the point of the highest reputation which genius can give, and was cut off at an age which, with most men, is as yet only that of hope. How many master-pieces were thus lost to the admiration of centuries! How many great and beautiful ideas, ready to burst forth into light, then returned to nothing! Everything that lives, everything in nature, is reproduced: the seasons, years, generations, societies, empires follow one another; genius alone has no successor, and centuries may pass ere a painter will appear who can be compared with, much less opposed to, Raffaello. Such were the lamentations of the public; and these sad thoughts seemed a dark veil cast over the feelings of all, and, to adopt the expression of Bembo, over all nature.

It has been given to some few extraordinary geniuses to exercise over their contemporaries the empire of a superiority inaccessible to envy, and which, far from wounding the pride of others, seems, on the contrary, to flatter the pride of each, because each finds therein matter for forming a high idea of human nature. Such men are, in the moral order, like those daring material monuments, wonders of industry, which we despair of ever seeing reproduced, and which we take a deep interest in preserving. The loss of such a genius, especially when it is sudden and premature, causes a universal grief; every one feels as though he himself were struck by the blow

known by the name of *La Madonna del Sasso*; and M. da Pescia assigned a house in Rome, which belonged to Raffaello, producing a rent of seventy crowns per annum, to be appropriated to the endowment of the chapel. This house now exists in *Panico*, at the end of a narrow street called *il Vicolo de' Coronari*, and is distinguished by the portrait of Raffaello being painted on it, copied from his bust in the Pantheon. In the year 1581, at the desire of G. Sitticella, arch-priest of the Pantheon, Gregory XIII. united this property to the revenue of his office; and in the year 1705, the arch-priest of that time mortgaged the house to repair it, and it now produces but a very small surplus, "*pregiudicevole all' anima del buon Raffaello.*"

which has destroyed the great man, and every one feels in his soul a void like that caused by the loss of a friend whom it is impossible to replace.

Such was the effect of that of Raffaello; all contemporary evidence proves this universal sentiment of grief and pain. We find one man declaring that the art of painting has lost the light which was enlightening it;¹ another saw all nature in mourning; a third declared that nature herself feared she was about to die; as though the death of Raffaello were a scourge from Heaven. Baldassare Castiglione wrote to the marchioness his mother: "I am at Rome, but seem no longer there since my poor Raffaello is gone." Thus Rome was no longer Rome, in the eyes of the most spiritual writer of the time, since it had lost him who, in his eyes, constituted its charm and ornament.

Raffaello's body lay in state in his own house, according to the custom of the time and country. The apartment where it lay was that in which still hung suspended on the scaffolding which supported it, the picture of the Transfiguration, finished, as we have said, but still, perhaps, waiting, in some parts, a last touch. This circumstance, indeed, must have greatly increased the impression produced by the work upon the spectators. We may well here apply to him the beautiful passage in which Pliny, speaking of some pictures which death had prevented the author from completing,² describes so well "the sorrow we feel in praising them, and the regret of the spectator, who seems to behold the pencil of the artist fall from his dying hand in the midst of his work."

This immortal creation of art—this, as it were, living image beside the corpse of its now inanimate creator—made upon the spectators an impression which time has not yet effaced from the memory of man. The allusion to this juxtaposition has been repeated by a multitude of writers, as one of the finest circumstances which the genius of eulogium could devise to honour the obsequies of a great man.

¹ "So that when he closed his eyes, she (Art) became blind."

² *In laocinto commendationis dolor est; manus cum id agerent extinctæ desideratur.*—Pliny, lib. xxxv. cap. xi

We can easily believe that it produced more effect than the panegyric of Paulo Giovio. It was an occasion on which to say with Horace:

"Segnius irritant animos," &c.¹

It was no doubt one of these *impromptus* of the eloquence of things, and which owed its effect to a cause so much the more active and fruitful, that it was natural and not arranged. There was in this coincidence nothing but what was perfectly spontaneous and unprepared; we will not believe, with some who have thus thought to enhance the effect, that the picture was introduced as a banner at Raffaello's obsequies.

No, the true pomp of his convoy was in the immense cortège of friends, pupils, artists, celebrated writers, personages of every rank, who accompanied it, amidst the lamentations of the whole city: for this was a general grief, fully shared by the papal court. Leo X., it is said, shed tears at his death. No one, in fact, sustained a greater loss by it, or was more capable of appreciating the consequences, since no one knew better than himself the value of the glory which art sheds over the reign of princes.

The body of Raffaello was conveyed to the most beautiful of the monuments of ancient Rome, the Pantheon; which had become the church of *Santa Maria de la Rotonda*, and was deposited, in pursuance of his last wishes, at the foot of the chapel he had endowed, and where his sepulchre now is. By the order of the pope, cardinal Bembo wrote the epitaph, which is still to be read there, and which runs thus:

D. O. M.

RAPHAEL SANCTIO IONAN. F. VRBINATI
 PICTORI. EMINENTISS. VETERVMQ. AENVLO,
 CVIVS. SPIRANTEIS. PROPE. IMAGINEIS
 SI. CONTEMPLERE
 NATURAE. ATQVE. ARTIS. FOEDVS
 FACILE. INSPEXERIS

¹ Horace, *Art poetic.*

IVLII IL ET LEONIS X. PONT. MAX.
 PICTURAE . ET . ARCHITECT . OPERIBVS
 GLORIAM . AVXIT.
 VIXIT . AN. XXXVII INTEGR. INTEGROS
 QVO . DIE . NATVS . EST . EO . ESSE . DESIT
 VII ID. APRIL, MDXX.

ILLE . HIC . EST . RAPHAEL . TIMVIT . QVO . SOSPITE . VINCI
 HERVM . MAGNA . PARENS . ET . MORIENTE . MORI.

A hundred and fifty-three years after the death of Raffaello, Carlo Maratti desired to honour the place of his sepulture by a new monument. It might appear strange that a simple inscription should mark the precise spot, where rest the remains of the greatest of painters. Was it imagined that the vast cupola of the Pantheon would itself, in men's opinions, be equivalent to a monument? But the metaphorical idea of the Pantheon, which an aping of paganism has since diffused in some countries, had not as yet taken ground anywhere, and this pagan allusion was foreign to the opinions of the time. It would appear that they contented themselves with the religious monument which Raffaello had directed in his will should be erected, and which consisted in the execution, or the restoration, of one of those niches which are called *en tabernacle*, ornamented with columns and a pediment, which were subsequently converted into chapels. It was there that Lorenzo Lotti was charged to carve the great statue of the Virgin which stands over the altar.

Such, then, was the real monument of Raffaello's sepulchre. As many are now wholly ignorant of it, it is very probable that after a century and a half, also, the memory of it had become generally lost. To repair the effect of this oblivion, Carlo Maratti resolved to place a marble bust of Raffaello in one of the two little oval niches in either side of the chapel. It was then that, as we have stated, the epitaph of Maria Bibiena was removed to make room for the new inscription of Carlo Maratti. The bust of Raffaello, sculptured after his true portrait

in the school of Athens, was executed by Paolo Nardini. The inscription runs thus:

“ Ut videant posteri oris decus ac venustatem
Cujus gratias mentemque celestem in picturis admirantur,
Raphaelis Sanctii Urbinatis pictorum principis
In tumultu spirantem ex marmore vultum.
Carolus Marattus tam eximij viri memoriam veneratus
Ad perpetuum virtutis exemplar et incitamentum
P. Ann. :

As to the opinion long prevalent, that the skull preserved in one of the halls of the Academy was that of Raffaello, recent circumstances have controverted it, and the fallacy that in putting upon his place of interment the bust formerly to be seen there, Carlo Maratti visited his remains, and took from them the skull which for a century-and-a-half passed as a relic of the great painter.

An authentic document, however, has shown that the skull in question was that of Don Desiderio de Adiutorio, founder of the society called the *Virtuosi*. The particulars of this matter are given in the note at the foot of the page.¹

¹ Extract from a letter addressed by signor Nibby, member of the Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts at Rome, to M. Quatremere de Quincy, on the discovery of Raffaello's remains in the church of the Pantheon:—

“ Sir,—It is most just that I relate to you, the judicious admirer and eloquent historian of the divine Raffaello, all the details of the discovery of his mortal remains. You are aware that, about a century ago, the Academy of St. Luke exhibited to the curious a skull, which they said was that of the painter of Urbino. Sixty years later, in order to meet certain rumours which threw a doubt over the truth of this assertion of theirs, they sought to explain the circumstance which had rendered them possessors of this precious relic. They declared that when, in 1674, Carlo Maratti commissioned Paolo Nardini to execute a bust of Raffaello, to be placed in the Pantheon, over the tomb erected to him, under the altar of the Madonna del Sasso, Maratti opened the tomb, and took from it Raffaello's skull. At the time this explanation was offered, judicious critics were not satisfied with it, and always warned strangers not to credit the story. Two years ago there was discovered an authentic document, which proved the skull in question to be that of Don Desiderio, founder of the society of the *Virtuosi* of the Pantheon in 1542. Thereupon arose a dispute between the present members of that society,

As to the genuine portraits of Raffaello, we have already had occasion to give an opinion on this subject, on reference to that of Altoviti, the object of Bottari's mistake. To form a just idea of his person, we have only to recal the undoubted images of it which exist. Raffaello painted

who demanded the head of its founder, and the Academy of St. Luke, who would not abandon the illusion under which they laboured as to their possessing the skull of the great Urbinese. After several months controversy, the congregation of the *Virtuosi*, intent upon recovering the head of their founder, invited the consulting commission of Antiquities and the Fine Arts, the Academy of St. Luke, and the Academy of Archaeology, to be present at an examination of the tomb of Raffaello and its contents, a proposition which was at once adopted, in order to put an end to the so long existing disagreement.

"As I am a member of all these societies, I was enabled to give my constant and earnest attendance on this occasion, and my report to you, therefore, is that of an eye witness.

"The operations were conducted on such a principle of exact method, as to be almost chargeable with over nicety. After various ineffectual attempts in other directions, we at length began to dig under the altar of the Virgin itself, and taking as our guide the indications furnished by Vasari, in his lives of Raffaello and Lorenzetto, and the statement in the catalogue of paintings and sculptures prefixed to the edition of 1603 of that author, we at length came to some masonry work of the length of a man's body. The labourers raised the stone with the utmost care, and having dug within for about a foot and a half, came to a void space.

"You may imagine our increased anxiety to proceed effectually, but, at the same time, with all the veneration required by the occasion. The final operation was solemnly performed, in presence of his eminence the cardinal Zuisa, representing his holiness; of Monsignor Grimaldi, governor of Rome; of Monsignor Patrizi, major-domo; of Monsignor Fieschi, first gentleman of the chamber, and of all the members of the various societies I have mentioned. You can hardly conceive the enthusiasm which took possession of us all, when, by a final effort, the workmen exhibited to our view the remains of a coffin, with an entire skeleton in it, laying just as originally placed, and thinly covered with damp dust, formed by the decayed portion of the coffin, the vestments, and the flesh. We saw at once quite clearly that the tomb had never been opened, (it is altogether incredible that the authorities would have permitted the alleged mutilation of the body of him who reflected such honour upon Rome and upon the age of Leo X.,) and it thus became manifest that the skull possessed by the Academy of St. Luke was not that of Raffaello.

"Our first care was, by gentle degrees, to remove from the body the dust which covered it, and which we religiously collected, with the purpose of placing it ultimately in a new sarcophagus. Amongst it we found, in tolerable preservation, pieces of the coffin, which was made of

himself four times in the frescos of the Vatican; once in the Dispute of the Sacrament, in company with Perugino, both under the figures of mitred personages; again, also with his master, at the right angle of the School of Athens; it is here he is most readily recognised. We see him again

deal, fragments of a painting which had ornamented the lid, several bits of Tiber clay, formations from the water of the river, which had penetrated into the coffin by infiltration, an iron *stelletta*, a sort of spur, with which Raffaello had been decorated by Leo X., several *fibule*, and a number of metal *anelli*, portions of his dress.

"We perceived that the coffin had, immediately after sepulture, been walled in, a precaution to which we owe the preservation of the bones.

"On the 15th September, (1893,) the body was examined by professional persons, who declared it to be that of a man of small proportions. The formal act was completed on the 17th. Baron Trariondi, professor of clinical surgery in the university, measured the skeleton as it lay, and after explanatory observations on the bones and ribs, and on their very marked character, proved the sex of the subject before him. The marquis Biondi, president of the Archaeological Society, then, after a short discourse, in which he more especially relied upon the account given by Vasari in his lives of Raffaello and Lorenzetto, in the notice prefixed to the edition of that writer, published in 1603, and on the letter of Michel de Ser Veson, declared emphatically that what the company saw before them was the true body of Raffaello, and adjured those present, if they felt any doubt whatever on the subject, to express it. More than seventy persons were present, the first men of the country in rank and in literary eminence, and all sanctioned, without an instant's hesitation, the declaration made by signor Biondi. Many, indeed, only rapt with tears and all the marks of the most passionate emotion. Every gentleman present signed the act of recognition, and for that matter, Pyrrho himself, had he been there, could not honestly have hinted a doubt.

"As to the manner in which we should proceed to place the bones in security, it was unanimously agreed to abide entirely by the testamentary disposition of Raffaello himself, with which you are acquainted; accordingly, that having deposited the skeleton in a more solid coffin of lead in marble, we should replace it in the same place where we found it, taking at the same time every possible precaution against any future inundation of the Tiber.

"The obsequies will be celebrated in a manner worthy of the temple, and of the glory of Raffaello. Baron Camuzoni is about to prepare drawings of all that we have seen, which will be lithographed; Girometta will execute a commemorative medal, and I am to draw up a narrative of the event, which will be published.

"From the 20th to the 24th, the public was admitted to view the body as we found it, and you who know the Romans will not be surprised that the number of persons of every rank who flocked to view it was

in the head of the person represented in the train of Virgil,¹ among the poets of Parnassus. Lastly, it is also his portrait which we recognise in the head of him who, by the side of Perugino, holds the cross in the Attika.

immense. On the 24th, the bones were inclosed in a temporary coffin, awaiting that of lead or marble which the pope has promised to furnish.

"The scientific observations of signor Trassinetti and others have proved the perfect resemblance of these remains of the frame of Raffaello to the portraits of him, and the testimonies on the subject by contemporaries. The frame is well proportioned; the height will have been seven palms, five ounces, and three minutes (about five feet five inches), the head, in perfect preservation, has all its teeth, still very beautiful, thirty one in number; the thirty second, in the left lower jaw, had not yet emerged from its socket. We could trace the exact lineaments of the portrait in the School of Athens; the neck was long; the arms and chest delicate, the hollow rudiments in the *apophysis* of the right arm seems to have been the result of constant exercise. The legs and the feet were of a strong character. One most surprising circumstance was that we found the larynx altogether intact and still flexible; it was large, and gave us reason to conceive that the voice must have been a powerful one. Since it has been exposed to the air, the larynx is becoming ossified, but I can speak as to its flexibility in the first instance, from having touched it immediately after the discovery of the body.

"I last Thursday a mould was taken of the skull; the operation was effected with perfect success. Next Friday, the 18th, the funeral urn will be inhumed, on which occasion the Pantheon will be brilliantly illuminated.

"These details cannot but be deeply interesting to you, who have devoted yourself to the homage of Raffaello, and who have raised to him a literary monument not less admired in Italy than it is throughout the rest of Europe."

Extract from the *Diario di Roma*, of the 26th Oct., 1833.

"The mortal remains of Raffaello having been found in the exact spot which he indicated for his place of sepulture, in the Rotonda, under the chapel adorned by him, and called *Della Madonna del Sasso*, the sovereign pontiff, Gregory XVI., ordered that a sarcophagus of marble should be taken from the Museum of the Vatican, to receive the wooden coffin, covered with lead, in which the bones of Raffaello have now been again deposited.

"The ceremony of the second inhumation of Raffaello took place on the evening of the 18th, with much solemn pomp. The interior of the Rotonda was funereally illuminated on the occasion.

"The sarcophagus, with its contents, was placed in exactly the same spot whence the remains had been taken. The presidents of the various academies were present, with the cavaliere Fabrizi at their head. Each bore a brick, which he inserted in the brickwork with which the sepulchre was walled in."

¹ Bellori. *Descrizione della Pitture*, p. 45
E E 2

We have just said that it is impossible not to recognise him under the figure of the young man who accompanies Saint Luke. Some think that this figure announces a style of painting inferior to that of the saint. It has also been remarked that the position of the head, the movement of the eyes, and the look, are not what they must be, if the portrait of the painter is executed by himself; obliged as he is, in order to copy himself, to look at himself in a mirror, a thing which he cannot do without his eyes turning on one side; which has induced the belief that here the face of Raffaello was painted by another. But this fact would not weaken the value of the resemblance, which Lanzi assigns to this head, placing it in the first rank in this respect.¹ He places in the second rank the portrait which he calls *Il Mediceo*, and which must be that of Florence. We must add to these, more or less faithful representations, that of a little figure seen whole-length, seated and enveloped in a drapery, which was engraved by Marco Antonio, from a light sketch, which gives a pretty accurate idea of the whole person.

If all these portraits have a striking agreement among them, one must needs say that there have been strange mistakes as to some others. Thus, for a long time, people conceived they recognised Raffaello in the portrait of a youth of fifteen, with his head reclining upon one of his hands. This work, which is in the Louvre, is certainly a most highly finished piece. Raffaello never did anything more charming, of finer pencilling, of more perfect colouring and harmony. But this itself contradicts the opinion that the painter herein represented himself; assuredly, when he had arrived at the highest degree of his talent, he would not have thought of painting himself of an age when it is well known he had only just entered under Perugino. Men do not make these retrospective portraits of themselves. Let us add that the youth represented in the picture has light hair, which entirely contradicts the most authentic belief as to the colour of Raffaello's hair.²

¹ *Stor. Pittor.*, li. 70.

² *Missirial, del vero Raffaello*, p. xiv.

We do not think it necessary to dwell at all upon a refutation of the entirely improbable opinion that another painting in the same collection¹ represents Raffaello with his fencing-master. In the first place, it is believed that this alleged fencing-master is no other than Pontormo; next, that the picture is by Pontormo himself; lastly, that the figure which has been taken for that of Raffaello has no similarity with any of the portraits known as presenting his true likeness; that large head, slightly bearded, appears to us to have been that of Marc Antonio, when a young man; at least, it has much analogy with the portrait of that engraver figured by Raffaello in the person of one of the pope's bearers, a companion to that of Giulio Romano, in the *Heliodorus*. It is from a similar mistake that Chapron, in his frontispiece to the engravings of the Loggie, has introduced the bust of Raffaello upon a column,² with a bearded face, which is no other than that of Marc Antonio, copied from the painting in question. The same mistake was renewed some years ago in a new series of engraved portraits.

By what we learn from the authentic portraits of Raffaello, especially those in the Gallery of Florence and the School of Athens, he had a regular, agreeable, and delicate face, the features well proportioned, the hair brown, the eyes the same colour, full of sweetness and modesty; the tone of the face bordering upon the olive; the expression, that of grace and sensibility. The rest of his conformation appears to have been completely in harmony with his physiognomy.³ His neck was long, his head small, his frame feeble; nothing in him indicated a constitution of long duration. His manners were full of charm; his exterior was prepossessing; his style of dress elegant, announcing an acquaintance with the usages of the world, and what is called the *ton* of the court people.

His moral qualities, those of the heart and mind, corre-

¹ Number 1149.

² Chapron has undoubtedly copied this head from the *Heliodorus*. He must have thought that Raffaello placed himself there as a companion to Giulio Romano.

³ Bellori, *Descritt. delle Pitt.*

sponded to the charm and grace of his person. One is touched with the gratitude he never ceased to exhibit to his old master, and above all, with the respect he paid to his works and the care he had for his reputation, in associating, as he did, Perugino's portrait with his own in many compositions, as if to make him share the honour of a talent which owed to him its first direction.

It does not appear that the feeling of envy ever had possession of his heart. Although it is impossible for the artist not to compare himself with those who surround him, and although Raffaello did not omit to institute such comparisons, yet his conduct and his works serve to distinguish, especially in their effects, noble emulation from base jealousy. The envious man studies only to lower his rivals, in order to rise on their ruins, to despoil them in order to enrich himself at their expense. The genuine, the generous rival, takes nothing from those whom he competes with; he does not even borrow from them; if he owes them anything, it is only the necessity of the effort which he is to make in order to combat them; and even when he triumphs over them, he refers to them the glory of his success. Thus Raffaello profited by the examples of his contemporaries, in deriving thence the means, not of following them, but of surpassing them, in borrowing from them not their arms, but the secret of fabricating better; in a word, in combating them with his own weapons. Just towards all, he knew how to render homage to his most dangerous rivals, and he was heard¹ to thank God that he was born in the time of Michel Angelo.

Endowed with a rare obligingness, even towards comparative strangers, he was never known to refuse his services to any. Ever ready to lay aside his own work for that of other people, he gave advice, and even designs, to those who claimed his aid. His contemporaries have lauded his extreme benevolence towards all, his charity towards the unfortunate. Cosio Calcagnini informs us that a certain Fabius de Ravenna, an old man of stoic probity, but affable and learned, lived with Raffaello, who

¹ *Lettere Stor. Fabr.* II. 71.

entertained him with the utmost respect, and consulted him on all occasions.

We have already spoken of the interest which he took in the talented men of all ranks who constituted his extensive school, of the harmony which he had established among them; a harmony so great, that the slightest quarrels, the least feeling of envy, never interrupted it. The principle of so rare concord was in the character of the chief, in those happy qualities which gained for him all hearts, in an amiability which Vasari has so well defined in saying, that not only men but animals themselves loved him.¹

Raffaello owed to his early education, to the care of a good father, and the example of an honorable family, that degree of instruction which will suffice for most stations in life, a precious germ which nothing can supply the want of, and which everything afterwards may tend to develop. Thus, the writing of the letter which he addressed to his uncle in 1507, proves sufficiently by the neatness, and we may say the graphic elegance, which render it remarkable, that the years of his childhood were well employed, that is to say, the years in which we generally contract, in the art of tracing the first characters, habits which are afterwards got rid of with difficulty. As to the style of this letter, there are in it some words and expressions which are not found in his later letters.² It is because in the former he uses the *patois* of his natal town; add too, that the date precedes his arrival at Rome. His other letters are in a different style. In reading that which he wrote to Baldassare Castiglione, there is no one who, judging it from the ideas, would not concur in what the Italian literati have said of his style, that it is altogether worthy of him to whom it is addressed.

The sonnet which is attributed to Raffaello³ certainly does not prove that he was a poet, or even an able versifier, but still it indicates a cultivation of the mind, which must

¹ Vasari, *ibid.*, p. 228.

² See Appendix, No. VI.

³ On the back of a drawing of three figures, unquestionably by Raffaello, we find written the following sonnet, which we have no means

be looked upon as a luxury of talent in a man who, in other arts, already united so many various merits.

We must not forget that Vasari, at the end of his *Lives of the Painters*, in mentioning the sources from which he drew, and the materials which served him in the accomplishment of his great work, cites Raffaello among the artists whose writings had been of great assistance to him. Even while regretting the loss of such precious documents, it is pleasant to find here another feature of the resemblance between the modern Apelles and him of old, who, as Pliny informs us, also wrote upon his art, *Scriptit et de sua arte*.¹

Both equally owed to their personal qualities and to

tion in assigning to him, knowing, as we do, that he occasionally sacrificed to the Muses:—

Un pensier dolce à remembrate, e godo
Di quell asalto, ma piu provo il danno
Del patir, chio restai, come quei ch' hanno
In mar perso la stella, se il ve odo

Or lingua di parlar disciogli il nodo
A dir di questo inusitato inganno,
Ch' amor mi fece per mio grave affanno,
Ma lui piu ne ringrazio, e lei ne lodo

L'ora sesta era che l'ocaso un sole
Aveva fatto, e l'altro corse il loco
Atto piu da far fatti che parole

Ma io restai pur vinto al mio gran foco
Che mi tormentò, che dove l' nom suole
Desiar di parlar, piu uman fioco "

M. Agincourt has copied from a second drawing by Raffaello, two other squirts, which he considers products of his fancy —

" Come non podde dir d'arcana Dei
Paul come diavolo fu dal celo
Così el mio cor d' uno amoroso velo,
Ha ricoperto tutti i pensier mei

Pero quanto chio vidi e quanto io fei
Pel gaudia factio che nel petto celo,
Ma prima sangerò nel froita el pelo
Che mai l'obbligo volga in penser lei "

¹ Plin., lib. xxxvi

their wealth the social consideration which occasioned them to be so much sought after by the great, and gave them access to persons of the highest rank. Raffaello, on this point, knew his value. In the letter dated July 1, 1514, which he wrote to his uncle, and in which he informs him of the state of his fortune, already considerable for that period, he speaks of himself in terms indicating a man who appreciates his own worth. "Know," said he, "that I am doing honour to you, to all our relations, and to our country." We can imagine how, in the last six years of his life, Raffaello must have increased his fortune, his credit, and his consideration in the eyes of his contemporaries.

But to what a degree (undoubtedly a point of far more importance) must he have augmented his knowledge of every kind, and perfected his taste by the society of the first personages of the court of Leo X.? It is known that an intimate friendship united him with Bembo, Navagero, Beazzano, Paulo Giovio, Bibiena, Sadoletto, Castiglione, and many others, distinguished as much by their rank as by their learning and talent. All were delighted to interchange knowledge with him, by frequenting his school to initiate themselves in the mysteries of an art of which he so eminently possessed the secret—that of representing to the eye the feelings of the soul:—*Pingere posse animam, atque oculis præhere videndum.*

The premature death of Raffaello will be an eternal subject of regret for all artists and friends of the arts. Even though we should grant that his faculties in painting could not have increased, and that his genius had arrived at the point which he could not have passed, this would not console us for the ever irreparable loss of the varieties of inventions and compositions that would have issued from a source which we know to have been inexhaustible.

One of the peculiar properties of Raffaello's genius was its fecundity, its faculty of reproducing, without repeating, the same subjects. Now, if in this infinite sphere of invention, wherein he exercised his pencil, and wherein none ever equalled him, we calculate, for example, what we should have lost, had he died two or three years

earlier, who will not see what we should have gained, had he lived (according to the ordinary course of human life) thirty years longer.

But setting aside what cannot be contested in this hypothesis—that is to say, the loss with regard to quantity, is it, we will not say proved, but probable, that if Raffaello had been longer spared, he would, if he did not add new qualities to those he already possessed, at least have modified some of them—that of colour, for instance—by the influence of some of the great painters of the Venetian school?

Some people, precisely because they have been most struck with the exaltation he attained in the space of so few years, argue in the matter from certain laws common to the moral with the physical order. They apply to the extension of the faculties of the mind the law of nature, which measures the duration of life by that of the growth or development of the body; they thence think, that from the great precocity of Raffaello's talent, and the rapidity of its growth, we should conclude that a longer life would have added nothing to the perfection of the qualities of which nature in him hastened the development; that, in fine, it was not his career which was short, but the course of his genius which was rapid. Thus they seek to lessen our regret for the loss, in attempting to lessen our opinion of its disastrous effects.

According to others, it is not the question whether Raffaello would have attained that absolute perfection which appears denied to the efforts of man, nor whether, in each of the principal parts of painting, he would have equalled each of those who have excelled only in that one particular quality. The question simply is whether, with the peculiar faculty he possessed of modifying his talent—that is, combining in the most admirable manner with his own qualities the distinctive qualities of other manners in other painters—he might not have attained a combination superior even to that of which his last works make us suspect the possibility. Now, it seems to us that the course followed by his talent might render such a progress

the more probable on his part, that he already presented us with examples of it, at all events, in a degree, and that nothing has yet fixed the term at which such combinations are to cease.

When we cast our eyes upon the period in which Raffaello lived, we there, indeed, see the principal parts of painting, as well as the qualities and gifts of genius corresponding to them, divided by nature, as in so many distinct lots, among four privileged and contemporary artists, who carried them to the highest point which it has been given to the moderns to attain. Thus, no one has advanced so far as Michel Angelo in the learning of design; as Titian in truth of colouring; as Correggio in the charm of pencilling and the clair-obscur; as Raffaello in invention and composition. But when we compare each of these four great painters with one another, it cannot but be admitted that Raffaello more nearly approached each of his three rivals in that which constitutes the (we may say exclusive) merit of each, than each of them equalled Raffaello in the points peculiar to him. And this is where we discover his incontestable pre-eminence.

The history of Raffaello and of his works will have enabled us to form an opinion on this subject.

All in him showed, as it seems to us, a nature so harmoniously formed by the alliance of the qualities best adapted for feeling, judging, and producing the beautiful in imitation, that it is difficult to fix a term where the results of so rare a combination must needs stop. This may, to a certain extent, rise above the region of mere probabilities. It would appear, that what the genius of Raffaello never ceased to do, might have been not only the prognostic, but even the guarantee of that which he would have continued to do. It is a case in which we may say—

“ Ab actu ad posse valet conclusio.”

That which distinguished Raffaello, that which we discover in him, when we follow his course from the outset, is that equilibrium of the moral faculties from which

results a just temperament between extremes, which necessarily produces the tendency, very rare of occurrence, to reconcile qualities, which seem antagonistic. Thus it appears to us that the various manners of which his works exhibit the succession, were not changes properly so called; the passing from one style to another, but simply fresh combinations of these styles. He did not replace one quality by a different quality, but he tempered the one by the other. He did not go from the simple to the composite, from smooth to rough, from the gentle to the bold, from the graceful to the grand, from the true which is called natural to the true which is called ideal,—but of all these styles he compounded a manner peculiar to himself, so individual, that if the prism of criticism discovers something of his contemporaries in his works, we may affirm, that in theirs we find nothing, or next to nothing, of his.

From the information of history, and from the evidence of facts, we may class, in some degree chronologically, the varieties of style and gust observable in the works of Raffaello—may distinguish that progressive ascent, of which what are called his three manners present the principal steps. We do not find that in acquiring on one side he lost on the other; as if, for example, he had changed the grace which characterizes Leonardo da Vinci for the inflexible austerity of Michel Angelo. What we observe, on the contrary, is, that having sought such and such a quality, only to the extent required in their combination with other qualities, it is permissible to doubt whether there was ever, on his part, the intention of imitating any one.

Let us also say, that if, with any of those who are opposed to him, there exists in their peculiar attributes some slight superiority, it is that each of them, perhaps, had somewhat too much of what constitutes their predominant quality. Leonardo da Vinci is so graceful in his attitudes as to border upon affectation; Michel Angelo has so much daring of science—so much grandeur of outline or composition in his figures, that it touches upon excess or abuse. May we not say, that each of these qualities become?

disengaged from its superfluity in passing through the *criterium* of Raffaello, giving us then, in justest proportion, the idea of true harmony, and true grandeur, and true grace? We may find *most* of the respective qualities in the other painters; in Raffaello we find them *best*. We think we may apply, nearly the same observation to all that are called the moral qualities of painting.

But the artists more especially interested in the practical merit of art recognise two principal divisions, in relation to which we shall examine the productions of Raffaello. We refer to design and colouring, the combination of which in the highest degree, has always appeared to the moderns an impossibility. It is generally considered, in fact, that these two parts of the art of painting depend upon two conditions or properties incompatible with each other. Whatever may be the value of this opinion, it is only applicable to the abstract idea that may be formed of harmony and the most perfect beauty of colouring, combined with the most perfect form of the most correct design. But between this supreme point either of a complete union or an absolute disunion of the two kinds of merits, who can reckon the satisfactory degrees which several have attained? Now, is it probable that Raffaello, who certainly in some of his great works attained one of these degrees, could not have risen to one yet higher?

Let it not be forgotten that the Venetian school only began to be celebrated with the pictures of Giorgione. Tiziano was nearly of the same age with Raffaello; he had as yet no reputation but at Venice, and did not visit Rome till 1546.¹ The two painters could not well have known each other except by reputation. Raffaello had not, therefore, so many opportunities as might be supposed, of estimating Tiziano's talent, of whose method, however, he is thought not to have neglected the study. Nor did Raffaello know Correggio.² It is then very probable that,

¹, vii. 8 and 17.

¹ Correggio died in 1534. He lived forty years. He never came to Rome. (Vasari, *ibid.*)

had he lived longer, Tiziano and Correggio would have been the objects of his emulation; and certainly it is difficult to persuade oneself that he would not have obtained from them some secret, either in the selection of colouring substances, or in their handling, and the art of fusing their tints.

Following, according to the ordinary method, the order of the principal parts of painting, we will give a summary of the degree in which Raffaello excelled in each, as compared with his rivals.

Invention, the first quality, and the basis of all the rest in the operation of the fine arts, comprehends so many features that we cannot pretend here to analyse it. A work whose sole object were to make an express and detailed application of it to the productions of Raffaello, would not exhaust the matter, taking the word *invention* in its highest acceptation. We do not contemplate here the reduction of the idea to the employment of that too easy faculty of *innovation*, which is so confounded with that of invention. He alone invents in painting, who, uniting in his conceptions strength of reason with activity of imagination, novelty of views with justness in their expression, the charm and vivacity of sentiment with profound knowledge, succeeds in creating in the mind of the spectator new ideas, in his soul previously unknown affections, and presents to his eyes images or combinations due to the secret virtue of art, and which no work of nature could have offered to him.

If this definition of the nature and effects of invention has any truth in its relation to the works of the painter, we may apply it to those of Raffaello all the more exactly, that, without his works, and without the lights which we owe them, we should have wanted the means not only of defining, but also of conceiving in its whole, the virtue of invention in painting.

In this virtue, Raffaello surpasses all painters, leaving even the ablest at a considerable distance behind. His superiority is derived from the circumstance that, in a department wherein the mind of man finds so few fixed rules, so few tangible examples fit to regulate his

flight, he preserved the just medium between extremes. Thus, the inventive faculty with some, as with Giulio Romano, seems to have had more daring; but it was at the expense of truth, and sometimes of propriety. Others, as Nicolas Poussin, appear, in the matter of invention, to have used more moderation; but this caution may be taxed with a want of warmth or of inspiration. These, such as Annibale Caracci, have successfully exercised their genius of invention in mythological subjects; those, like Domenichino, in Christian subjects. Raffaello treated all subjects, and in each his invention came up to the mark in every class, and was superior to that of each of the artists who only recommend themselves in one style.

Briefly as we are here speaking of the gift of invention, the most characteristic feature of Raffaello, we cannot dispense with distinguishing that other quality which is contiguous to it, which is its auxiliary or consequence. We speak of fertility. No painter has equalled him in this respect. Sufficient proof of it has been given to exempt us from dwelling again upon the subject. But what we particularly remark in the prolificacy of Raffaello's genius, is that faculty he possessed of repeating the same subject several times, without our being able to discover by any sensible inferiority an order of date in productions, which, although they succeeded each other, none the less seem to be each the work of a sole creation. One sees that, as his imagination was of a nature to catch every variety of the same subject, and to diversify its images, so his judgment was qualified to bring them to the principal point of every action, a species of moral centre, of which his art ran over and reproduced all the aspects. In the same manner, abundant without prolixity, in all his compositions, he more than any other painter possessed the secret of multiplying personages, incidents, accessories, and episodes, without one's being able to detect an useless feature; every feature, indeed, appearing indispensable alike for the gratification of the eyes, and for the intelligence of the subject, or the interest of the action.

That which, in painting, is called *composition*, is, no

doubt, a dependency upon *invention*, so that the two ideas, and the two kinds of merit, which opinion attaches to the qualities required by each of these parts, are often confounded in ordinary language. Yet the word *composition* has a very distinct meaning, and the talent of composing, although an effect of the gift of invention, has none the less a value of its own. It is the art of disposing the objects in a picture, and the personages, in their movements and their connexion with the subjects to be represented, in such a manner that the whole and each of its parts shall offer an ensemble at once agreeable in its outlines, harmonious in its effects, manifest to the mind, and capable of producing upon the soul and senses of the spectator, an impression which art can often render superior to that of the object itself in nature.

There are, in *composition*, two rocks to avoid; too little art, and too much. There had been too little art before Raffaello. The compositions of the schools which preceded him were nothing but figures standing in a row. The timidity of the mind, in this respect, resulted from the very nature of the subjects, which, as we have said, only required of art to become the faithful mirror of that which the eyes daily beheld. Where imagination is not called upon to take a part in the subjects which painting has to represent, there is no room for composition.

Afterwards, painters introduced too much art, or, if you will, too much artifice, into composition, either, in some cases, by subjecting it to a too arbitrary process of superfluous making up, an over-methodicalness, the very affectation of care; or, in others, by diversifying to an excess the aspect and outline of the ensemble, in a manner altogether independent of the exigencies of the action. Raffaello—and, with a few other exceptions, we may say Raffaello alone—put into his composition the utmost possible, without allowing art to appear, the utmost variety without the unity being lost, the utmost richness with the least of luxury—lastly, the utmost of that regularity so harmonious to the eye and to the mind, and in which the eye and the mind discover neither affectation nor constraint.

Some have remarked that, in general, Raffaello frequently

established, in his compositions, a balance of outlines and masses, which produce an effect more or less symmetrical. This effect is perceptible in the pictures of the Dispute of the Sacrament, of the School of Athens, of the Parnassus, the Miracle of Bolsena, the Heliodorus, in four or five of the Cartoons, and many other subjects. This sort of correspondence between the masses naturally pleases the eye, because it renders easy to them the action of comparing the principal divisions of the composition. But it equally pleases the mind, as being the result of order and the type of regularity. Even instinct finds there something sympathetic; so numerous are the examples of symmetry which nature gives us in the regularly uniform conformation of all living creatures, composed of two halves which exactly correspond.

If numerous descriptions of Raffaello's paintings had not already shown us the extent of his genius in composition, we should have a vast field for observation; but each of the articles devoted here to describe each of these qualities, being only a brief summary, we shall conclude on this point by saying that no painter ever possessed, in the same degree, the peculiar talent of exhibiting the principal subject of each composition in its most elevated point of view; of introducing the personages in such a manner that not one seems there without a motive; of giving to each an action which has no appearance of being forced; attitudes and expression so true, and in so necessary a connexion, so well allied to the interest of the scene, and so essential a complement to it, that one does not see what it would be possible to omit with advantage, or what with advantage could be added.

The rarest gift of all in a painter is expression: it was of this that nature was most liberal to Raffaello. The schools of the fifteenth century had no idea of expression, considered in all its parts, especially where it has to embrace all the passions, all the shades of affections, which painting can render sensible. Among the artists of this century we find nothing but uniformity in the movements of the body, and monotony in the manifestation of feeling. The only kind of sentiment that we read in the

physiognomies of most of the figures is that of devotion; the very idea of which excludes, in general, that of passion. And, moreover, one is disposed to believe that this calm, or this unmeaningness of the physiognomies, combined with the *naïveté* of the attitudes, is more the result of the powerlessness of art, than of the will of the artist.

Leonardo da Vinci was the first who emancipated painting from the confined and portrait style. He idealized his figures, and, without entirely departing from the truth of individual imitation, in the heads of women, of Blessed Virgins, and of children more especially, united to an extreme grace of outline, to an inexpressible purity of contour, the sentiment of life, the expression of mild joy, and an affectionate tenderness. There is no doubt, and his Last Supper proves it, that if he had exercised his pencil upon more and more varied subjects, he would have carried to the highest point the art of representing the passions in the eyes, in the features, and in the movements and attitudes of his personages. But he had not sufficient opportunities for delineating those grand and pathetic subjects which derive their value from learned pantomime, the dramatic action of which is one of the most mysterious secrets of genius.

Michel Angelo knew not, in these respects, the great art of expression. The anatomical science which he possessed in the highest degree, and which was the source whence he drew his prodigious means of giving movement and life to his figures, would seem to have been the source also, whence he contracted that monotonous taste, that sad and sombre humour, which prevail in the features of the personages in the Last Judgment. The study of the muscles there absorbs every other study. Beyond the prodigies of daring and energy in the contours of those groups of figures, where boldness of outline vies with truth of form, we vainly seek, in this amazing assemblage, the diversities of passion and expression, which ought, under so many aspects, to have contrasted the faces of the blessed with those of the damned. Michel Angelo possessed, in fact, only the expression of force; and the monotonous use he makes of this, weakens the impression derived thence by the spectator.

Raffaello has treated every description of subject in every period of every age, in every position. There is no passion, no movement of the soul, no shade of feeling and character, which he has not expressed in all its varieties, and in every degree: love, hatred, maternal tenderness, filial affection, respect, adoration, devotion, pride, humility, ambition, jealousy, hope, fear, cruelty, gentleness, terror, pity, despair, fury, bodily pain, mental torture, joy, sorrow, &c. You find in his works the faithful representation of all the sentiments which dispute the heart of man, and thus manifest themselves in his face, where, as in a mirror, we see the dearest affections of the soul reflected.

It is known that the violent passions obtain more easily from the pencil the features which characterize them; but the greatest difficulty, in that which constitutes the art or expression, is, that which Raffaello almost solely knew how to render. We speak of certain refinements of movement or physiognomy, which we discern in his compositions, as the observer may do in the changing features of a multitude of persons intent on the same object, or struck with the same spectacle. There is in Raffaello occasion for making an infinitude of these fugitive observations, which are beyond the solution of theory, in common with everything else that proceeds from an inexpressible sentiment, and cannot be explained by it, or in it. One is almost sure of meeting, in the details of his compositions, a vast number of those light traits, by which objects, even material objects, seem to participate in the privilege of the sentiment. Mengs has pointed out that many of his draperies, instead of recalling (as is the case elsewhere), that artificial and fixed manner, the result of copying the lay figure, have the property of indicating by their arrangement, or by their fall, the circumstances of the moment preceding the movement in which the figure is seen. This is one of those many expedients which the taste of the painter can avail himself of to add to the idea of movement, or to supply the effect of it on the spectator, despite the nature of a class of imitation which has no succession within its own means.

There is not one of Raffaello's compositions in which we do not find some example of the art of intermingling, in the same scene, to increase the effect of all, certain situations not opposed to each other, but diverse, which, like the gentle modulations of one sentiment, carry you through all its shades. As the poet in his narratives, so the painter in his images, ought to beware how he exhausts the attention or the interest, by confining them to one single point of view, or by fatiguing them with a continuity of the same effect. Thus, Raffaello knew that the unity of action, of interest, and sentiment, does not exclude varieties of incidents, episodes, and details, wherein the mind relaxes from a sensation whose uniformity would render it painful.

So we have seen him, in the Battle of Constantine, place in the foreground the group of a father withdrawing from the conflict the body of his dead son. It would, perhaps, be difficult to mention a more ingenious feature than that of the woman who occupies the centre of the scene, in the drawing of the Massacre of the Innocents, of which we have spoken. In every direction, the murderers, maddened with blood, dispute their prey with the mothers, who oppose but a powerless resistance to their fury. Several still defend themselves; one weeps over the body of her dead child, another, who has lost all, flies from the field of carnage,—all tells us that the fearful decree will be fully executed. But Raffaello has varied this general effect of terror, by an episode of hope in the figure of a woman, who, amidst the executioners engaged in their sanguinary struggle, advances running as it were towards the spectator. With her two hands she conceals, as she best can, her child in her bosom; her restless eyes watch on every side the movements of the assassins. We are full of hope that she will escape.

While speaking of *expression*, we cannot omit to refer to *grace*. And how can we better give an idea of it, since we must renounce any hope of defining it, than in recalling here, the Virgins, the children, the angels of Raffaello, their heads and features, in their positions and attitudes?

But to cite here particular examples in this style, were to imply that there is a choice among them; whereas, in point of fact, there is not a line of his pencil which was not guided by the sentiment of grace.

Grace can neither be taught nor learned; whoever seeks it, will never find it. Leonardo da Vinci would perhaps have had more of it, had he less pretended to it. Grace, in painting, flies all that too much partakes of study and research, all that aims too closely at correction and finish. Raffaello, doubtless, possessed both the one and the other, but he had also that facility which corrects their excess. It is from having neither such finished contours as those of Leonardo da Vinci, nor such profoundly learned outline as that of Michel Angelo, that his design, perhaps, was more open to the charm of grace.

Design is commonly considered as the result of all imitative labour, which employs various kinds of instruments in tracing lines or contours, and introducing shades. It is not under this vague relation of an art, for the most part futile, that we should form an idea of design in painting, and more especially in speaking of the works of Raffaello. The design here in question, is the science of the forms of bodies, and in particular of the human body.

Thus considered, design would comprehend so many things, and would give rise, in a regular critical examination, to so many special observations, that it is impossible for us to review the works of Raffaello, as an artist might do, from the works themselves, by the practical analysis of the merits or defects to be found in such or such figures, or such and such of their parts.

We shall here then speak, and that very succinctly, of the design of Raffaello, only in reference to the theoretical and general science. We remark in his works the excellence of proportions, the taste, and style, which distinguish them.

As to what is called science, that which depends on a profound study of the body, of the bones, the muscles, and the details of the skin which covers the machine. we have already seen that this merit almost exclusively belonged to Michel Angelo, and that in this class, none

can be compared with him. Raffaello had not, in his first studies, learned drawing at the school of anatomy. The painters of the fifteenth century had had very little need of this science, because nearly all the subjects which they represented dispensed with the nude, even when they did not absolutely exclude it. The study of the human body required by the painter of that time consisted merely in the delineation of the contour.

It was to this, also, that were limited Raffaello's first studies. He accustomed his eye to a great accuracy in the manner of producing, by their contour, the forms of the bodies, without seeking further the reasons for these forms. His inventive spirit impelled him towards composition; his taste enabled him to catch the beautiful in every object, and this sentiment, which predominated in him, spread the charm of grace and expression even over his earliest works. His design, always pure and natural, remained, however, without energy or character, until the epoch when higher works and the spur of emulation made him feel the want of more profound studies in this class.

Vasari informs us that he then applied himself to anatomical studies,¹ and that he learned from them, what they alone could teach him—to vary the movements of the body, to give more vivacity to the contours, more energy to the forms and articulations of the limbs, more truth in the fore-shortening. We will give what the biographer adds on this point. Nothing can more fully justify him from the reproach of having been partial to Michel Angelo at the expense of Raffaello.

“Raffaello,” says Vasari,² “perceived that in anatomical science he could not attain the perfection of Michel Angelo. But, like a man of excellent judgment, he also considered that painting does not consist only in the expression of the nude; that it offers a far wider field for many other classes of merit, in the invention of historical subjects, the conception of ingenious ideas, and the taste which the able artist knows how to develop by that just

¹ Vasari, *ibid.*, iii. 220.

Ne Lave slightly abridged the extract.

proportion of invention which, in every subject, ought to hold the medium between the confusion of too much and the meagreness of too little. He also saw how many kinds of various perfections the painter may aim at who unites in his compositions beauty of back-ground and perspective, variety in the effects of light, propriety of costume, beauty of heads in every age, &c. From all these considerations, not being able to equal Michel Angelo in that wherein he could have no rival, Raffaello, instead of imitating a manner, the attempt to realize which would have been a mere loss of time, resolved to form one for himself made up of all the others, which we have mentioned." *A farsi un ottimo universale in quelle altre parti che si sono raccontate.*¹

This is what rendered Raffaello the most universal of all painters. His design, then, was neither so learned nor so vigorous as that of Michel Angelo, but it had the advantage of being adapted to a far greater variety of subjects. Design was not, with him, the end of painting, but a means, an instrument, useful in rendering a multitude of ideas, of varied characters, and adapting itself to every kind of subject.

If the science of anatomy leads the designer to the fundamental knowledge of the forms he has to represent, if it teaches him the reasons for the construction, the disposition, the economy of the body, it also affords instruction as to proportions. But the art of proportions cannot be subjected to mere technical knowledge. Their beauty, their variety, and the indefinable charm which results from this harmony, depend on certain laws which they can only approximately determine. Taste, sentiment, genius must do the rest. Now, what design, in reference to proportions, owes to these three qualities, Raffaello certainly possessed in the highest degree.

The fine equilibrium of the outlines, the harmony of the contours, the precision of the *ensemble*, the exactness of the forms, the just relation of their character, to that of each class of figure, each age, each subject,—of all

¹ Vasari, *ibid.*, 114, 327.

this, certainly Raffaello borrowed nothing from Michel Angelo.

Generally, also, as we have already remarked, what is called *style* in design, is with Raffaello more conformable than in any other painter to the style of the antique. Design is the painter's language, and style is, for the designer, what the form which he gives to his thoughts is to the writer. In both the one and the other, the shades and varieties of language are innumerable. That which characterized Michel Angelo's style was the expression of force. But this merit of his style became its defect, because he applied it indiscriminately to all subjects and all ages, to the figures of women as well as to those of men, to children as to giants. We have seen, on the contrary, with what flexibility the style of Raffaello's design, like that of the antique upon which it was formed, was applicable to the fitnesses of every style, every degree, from infantine naiveté and juvenile grace to the nobleness and grandeur of the figures of heroes and divinities. The greatest praise, in fine, that we can give his style of design would be, that it pleases even by the side of the most perfect models of antiquity.

The manner of painting and colouring, qualities which often relate to similar processes and modes, underwent, in the works of Raffaello, the same change, in the same degree, and by a progress of the same description as the other parts of art.

The use of colours, the handling of the pencil, all were very simple with Pietro Perugino; nothing, in the practices of his school, tended to produce the effect, the saliency which is given by deep shading. Raffaello's first picture, especially his small works, have the same simplicity of colour and effect. A clear tone, fresh tints, light shade, a back-ground little developed, a precise finish, resembling that of miniature painting: this is what, with a few exceptions, we have remarked in the commencement of his first manner. As to the highest degree of that manner, we may form the justest idea of it by the two last pictures he painted before he went to Rome—the Virgin, called *La Giardiniera*, in the Louvre, and the

Entombment of Christ, now in the Borghese palace at Rome.

This same gust in colour, this pure and finished manner of painting, are seen also in Raffaello's first frescos in the halls of the Vatican; the execution of which, occupying nine years, present a series of works which enable us to follow the changes then undergone by his system of colouring and of handling.

There are persons who regret that Raffaello quitted the habits of his first manner, and changed the purity of his tints, the naïve simplicity of the process of his pencil, for a more vigorous use of shade, light, and effect. They have also remarked that Raffaello having entered a new path, having been obliged to aggrandise the style of his design and to strengthen the effect of his tints, the pictures executed on this new system have given more hold to the action of time, and have suffered more changes in their colours. This is a fact of which we are at once convinced, when we see that the colours of his first works have still all their original freshness, while several parts of his later productions, especially the shades, have darkened to such a degree that the general harmony is affected.

This cannot be contested; and what we have remarked as to Raffaello's first-paintings will apply to all the paintings of the fifteenth century, whose colour is still in all its first freshness.

To this it has already been replied, that this fine preservation of colour is the effect of the very imperfection of the art of painting. This art was then in a close relation with all that taste, still in its infancy, required in religious representations. Eyes unpractised, minds easy to please in matters of imitation, contented themselves with the least complicated subjects and images, whose effects were as simple as the compositions were unmeaning. Thus, then, the work of the pencil was little more than a manufacture. The art of colouring, limited to the mechanical process, was applied, it mattered little how, to fill up, as so much wall, the spaces indicated by the patrons. The tints were laid on crudely, with little heed to the gradation of the colours, and still less of that retouching which

indeed so often affects their purity. We shall not speak of the work of the mind, of taste, or of the learning of the imitative, details, none of which matters were at all permitted to derange the routine application of the colours and their shades.

We may conceive that so mechanical a manner of painting, in whatever degree its excess may have been modified, especially towards the period of Raffaello, could not be allied either with grandeur of the compositions, or with the sentiment of inspiration which they require, nor with boldness of design, nor with that sort of enthusiasm which, seizing on the painter's soul, enables him rapidly to catch those energetic traits by which he depicts the impetuous movements of the soul and of the body. It were impossible for the coldness of a wholly mechanical process or work not to extinguish the ardour of sentiment and execution which the painter should throw into a subject, grand, numerous, full of movement, and rich in expression.

Thus, what do we behold in passing from the first hall of the Vatican to the second? Precisely the application of what we have just stated. In the first, whose paintings still partake of the manner and process of the school of the preceding century, all is in accord with the subjects of a tranquil composition, destitute of what may truly be called *action*, and presenting, in fact, no movement, no passion whatever; or in the personages any perceptible indication of a vivid and passionate interest.

The next hall shows us, on the contrary, compositions full as the subjects which they represent, of energetic actions, violent scenes, profound expression, or vigorous effects. The design is more articulated, the colours better contrasted, the shades deeper. It is here, also, we find that Raffaello, at the sacrifice of the virgin purity, so to speak, of his first manner, has acquired more manliness in his forms, more breadth in his arrangement, more boldness in his course. The nature of things would operate this change, which some have perhaps erroneously attributed solely to the example of Michel Angelo. It seems to us that the change of manner in Raffaello was simply

the necessary development of a talent which would modify it-self according to the natural course of things, and the difference of the subjects he had to represent.

For the rest, we must allow that he needed, to perfect his colouring and his manner of painting, to have lived long enough to have profited by the lessons and examples which the Venetian school had not as yet sufficiently multiplied in Italy. All tends to make us believe that Raffaello, of all the painters of his time at Rome, would have most profited by them. We are taught this by the suppleness of talent which characterized him, and, which is more to the purpose, by several of his works, such as the celebrated portraits we have mentioned, painted by himself alone, and in the execution of which none of his pupils could have had any share.

It is well known that we must set down to the account of Giulio Romano that abuse of printer's ink in the shading, which, but a few years after the death of Raffaello, had already deprived some of his most beautiful paintings of the harmony which had at first been so much admired in them. We learn from this, that Raffaello had not lived long enough to perceive the evil effect of a process which later he would certainly have remedied. Without asserting that he would have equalled Tiziano and Correggio in the truth of the flesh, the transparency of the tints, in the colours, the flow of the lines, the clair-obscur, and the magic of colouring, it would have sufficed him to appropriate a portion of these qualities, and especially to study the effect of certain colouring substances, to have given his works the only advantage we are fain to desire in them.

Raffaello is probably, of all painters, he who had the greatest and most numerous school. By this word we must not limit ourselves to the idea of a mere assemblage of pupils who pass a certain time with a master, and there learn, in different degrees, the art which they are afterwards to exercise for themselves. Raffaello's school, no doubt, comprehended some pupils of this class; and nothing, it is said, could equal his zeal in teaching them the principles of his art.

But we must here have a more extensive and higher idea of the word *school*. We must figure to ourselves a numerous assemblage of men of talent, most of them formed by him, and whom a certain degree of self-interest, but, above all, strong admiration, attached more to his rare personal qualities than even to his works. It was of this body that was formed the sort of train which accompanied him when he went to court, to the number of fifty. Vasari's words (*tutti salenti e buoni*) establish the preceding distinction.

But according to another acceptation, in the language of the art of design, the word *school* is used in a different sense, as when we speak of a certain number of artists who, without having received lessons directly from a celebrated master, and without even having been employed by him in his works, have borrowed more or less from his manner and style, and, having thus formed themselves upon his works, have become imitators more or less exact. There are few celebrated artists who, in their life-time or after their death, have not given birth to such productions, the execution of which connoisseurs do not assign to themselves, but which they nevertheless quote as belonging to their *school*. Hence the great number of pictures which are dispersed in all directions under a celebrated name, and upon which the criticism of later times is exercised with all the more uncertainty that their dispersion, making us view them separately, renders immediate comparison impossible. Now no painter has had, more than Raffaello, the honour of these numerous imitations, or has suffered more from the inconvenience of the confusion which they occasion.

It would be necessary, with reference to the school of Raffaello, thus considered under the various acceptations of the word *school*, to enter into an extended critical investigation; which, under any circumstances, would be difficult to render complete, and which is out of the question now.

In citing here the principal artists whom history has made known as having formed what is called, properly speaking, the School of Raffaello, we shall observe the order

in which Lanzi has named them.¹ This order has the advantage of indicating at once the relative superiority of their talents, the relation borne by them to the chief of the school, the parts, greater or less, taken by them in his works, and their claims, more or less strong, to being considered to have belonged to him.

In consequence of this classification, we must name, at the head of all:

Giulio Pippi, or *Giulio Romano*, a great painter, himself full of genius and fertile in inventions, as is proved by his works at Mantua, particularly in the Palazzo del T in that city, and who gave proof of a rare capacity, in the execution of the Battle of Constantine. He had, after the death of Raffaello, the honour of being pronounced the prince of the school. Immediately after him comes—

Gian Francesco Penni, called *il Fattore*, from having been, in his early youth, the serving boy in Raffaello's atelier. He became one of his most skilful fellow labourers; among other works, he laboured at the Loggie of the Vatican; he executed the higher portions of the Assumption of Raffaello, at Monteluca, in the city of Perugia, and he was, together with Giulio Romano, instituted heir to his master.

Then follow, in their rank—

Luca Penni, the brother of the preceding. He seems also to have taken an active part in the labours of Raffaello.

Perino della Vaga, whose real name was *Pierino Buonacorsi*, laboured much on the Loggie of the Vatican, particularly on the arabesques. His talent was very various. To him is attributed the execution of a great many of the subjects of what is called the Bible of Raffaello, in the gallery of the Loggie.

Giovanni da Udine was the principal co-operator in the works called arabesque paintings, in the gallery of the Loggie. He passes for having re-discovered the secret of and revived the taste for stuccos, after the models of the Baths of Titus. Though chiefly skilful in painting all kinds of animals, birds, and plants, he excelled also in the imitation of what is called still life.

¹ Lanzi, *Stor. pittor.*, li. 88.

Polidoro da Caravaggio rendered himself famous, together with *Maturino di Firenze*, by his pictures in clair-obscur, or black and white, imitating ancient bas-reliefs upon the façades of houses.

Pelligrino da Modena.—He, of all the pupils of Raffaello, was the one who imitated him best in the aspect of his heads, and in a certain grace in the posture and action of his figures. He executed many of the subjects in the gallery of the Loggie, after the designs of Raffaello.

Bogna Cavallo.—He is regarded among those who were employed upon the paintings of the same gallery.

Vincenzo di S. Gimignano.—Vasari praises him as having been a very good imitator of Raffaello.

Raffaellino del Colle.—He assisted Raffaello in the works of the Farnesina, and Giulio Romano in the execution of the Battle of Constantine.

Timoteo della Vite, native of Urbino.—He was, in the first instance, a pupil of Francia at Bologna; he went afterwards to Rome, entered the school of Raffaello, and worked upon the pictures of the Sybils in the church *della Pace*.

Pietro della Vite, the brother of the preceding, is thought to have been of the school of Raffaello.

Garofolo, whose real name was *Benvenuto Tisi*, of Ferrara.—He acquired the surname by which he is known from the custom he had of painting a carnation in his pictures. It is not said that he took part in the works of Raffaello, but perhaps he of all has best imitated his drawing, manner, expression, and colouring, if, indeed, his colouring is not the warmer of the two.

Gaudenzio Ferrari is considered to have worked with Raffaello at the Farnesina, and to have assisted in the works of the saloon of the Vatican, which is called *Torre Borgia*.

Jacomone da Faenza copied the works of Raffaello, and, formed upon their models, he attained to the execution of very laudable pictures in the style of the master.

Pistoia.—He was the pupil of *Francesco Penni*; but it is supposed that Raffaello employed him together with *Raffaellino del Colle*.

Andrea da Salerno.—Dominici has endeavoured to prove that he was a pupil of the school of Raffaello.

Vincenzo Pagani.—Colucci, in *Memorie di Monte Rubiano*, proves that this master also came from the same school.

Marc Antonio Raimondi.—We have seen what was his connexion with Raffaello as an engraver. Malvasia pretends, but he gives it as a mere opinion unsupported by proof, that he did not content himself with merely engraving after the designs of Raffaello, but that he also painted after his sketches.

Some writers, as Armenini, Orlandi, Bellori, Palomino add the following to the list of the pupils of Raffaello:

Scipione Sacro, a painter of Cesena.

Pietro da Ragnaia, who painted at Bologna

Bernardino Luino and *Baldassare Peruzzi*.

Pier Campana, Flemish by nation, who lived twenty years in Italy.

Michel Coxis, of Malines, several pictures by whom still remain in the church of the *Anima*, at Rome.

Bernard Van Orlay, of Brussels, who, as has been said above, having been the pupil of Raffaello, was charged, together with several other Flemings, with superintending the execution in tapestry of the celebrated cartoons which we have described.

Mosca, who painted in the style of Raffaello; a fact which does not suffice, however, to prove that he was his pupil or assistant.

In occupying ourselves with the long and really prodigious enumeration of works of which Raffaello became the author in the short space of less than twenty years, we have unquestionably had, for our principal object, the conscientious fulfilment of the task which was imposed upon us by the double point of view indicated in the title whereof we made choice. We believe, in fact, that we have neglected nothing which concerns the *life and works* of this for ever celebrated painter. If anything could persuade us of this, it would be the fact that our first edition, which was long ago exhausted, having been translated in Italy with a splendour most honourable to the

original, we have had the pleasure, while we turned this translation to good account upon some points, to remark in it, that, far from having inconsiderately augmented the list of Raffaello's works, we have rather fallen short of, than increased the number.

This is also the case with what we have done in respect to the artists who, under the title of *pupils*, which is given to the greater number, composed what is called his school, and were, in different degrees, his assistants.

We have need, in fact, of this idea, to account for the execution of such a prodigious number of works, and of undertakings so various. With its assistance, we can conceive how Raffaello, disposing at will of so many talents which were subordinated to his, and becoming thus more free in his creative activity, could abandon himself to all the fertility of his genius, and how he could produce a series of works which seems, particularly in the present day, to have been too great for, not only the term of the longest life for which an artist may be allowed to hope, but even for the successive efforts of many lives.

This consideration, which is confined to the simple fact, leads us to another which is much more important, and which, addressing itself to those who are charged with the direction of works of art, and also to those who execute them, may become one of the principal results of this history.

Every history may be reduced to a compendious moral: and the historian does not fulfil the whole of his duties if he neglect to develop, from the facts, which he has described, and the objects which he has presented, some one of those consequences which may be, and are suited to become, lessons useful for the time in which he writes.

As in the present day there is so much talk of encouragement for the arts, it seems to us that it might be useful to call the public attention to the result of which we wish to speak. We intend to signalise one of the principal causes to which we owe Raffaello, that is to say, the immense inheritance which he was enabled to bequeath to posterity.

And, in the first place, in order that some may look

upon this numerous production of works as an extraordinary fact, and a rare exception in the history of the arts, we shall show without, however, repeating here the sufficiently well-known proofs, that this vast multiplicity of works, produced by a single artist, was precisely what distinguished all the great talents of ancient times. It is enough to go through the notices, certainly very much abridged, of their undertakings, to become convinced that Phidias and Zeuxis, Apelles and Lysippus, among others, each in his kind, brought forth a greater number of *chef-d'œuvres*, than such or such a great country, at present, produces in the course of a century.

If we return to modern times, we shall remark almost the same thing among the most celebrated painters of all classes. The museums and galleries of all the states of Europe declare plainly enough to those who will see, that each of those artists, of whom we continually cite the names, executed twenty times as many great works as any one of the painters of the present period.

It seems to us that two reasons are to be given for this fact: one, and that which ought to be regarded as the first, tends to explain the means whereby the artist was enabled to multiply himself in the execution of his compositions and in the operations of his art.

The other shows how differences of opinion, custom, and political system, may favour or oppose, according to times and circumstances, the fertility of talents and the multiplication of the best works.

For the first reason, it suffices that it should be remarked that every art is necessarily composed of two parts, of which the slightest analysis will enable us to apprehend and distinguish the qualities. To the one appertains that which arises from thought, from genius, from taste, &c. These qualities are the lot of a very few. To the other belongs all that is comprehended under the names of practice, labour, technical execution, &c. Herein it is that the multitude abound. Now, let any one accord great and numerous enterprises to the artist, the man of genius, and he will soon form executive assistants docile to his thoughts. We shall soon see him surrounded with voluntary subordi-

nates, who, for the most part without him would have nothing to do, but without whom he, in his turn, would be compelled to do little. However great, in fact, may be the distance which separates the liberal arts, called those of design, from the mechanic or industrial arts, we cannot refuse to recognise, in the two parts of which the first are composed, a division necessarily tending to class those who exercise them in two ranks. Now the most numerous category has always been, and always will be, that of those who, instead of rising into the region of invention or of genius, remain confined, in different degrees if you please, to the more or less subaltern operations of practice.

We come now to the second reason, which seems to us most important to be developed, inasmuch as it most frequently depends upon the influence of society and of its institutions. In effect, this explanation of the difference which we remark, between the ancient condition of the arts of design and their present state, belongs precisely, and before all, to the difference of existing opinion, custom, and government. which opposes itself to the system under which each would find himself naturally classed, by the quantity or quality of his talent, in the category to which he belongs.

When nothing deranges or contradicts the natural course of things, in the ordering of the ranks which genius or reputation establishes between artists, each one necessarily takes his true position. Degrees of superiority and inferiority, concerning which general opinion cannot be mistaken, become formed of themselves. Thus we see in the forests the most vigorous trees rise, of themselves, above those plants which a less powerful sap compels to remain beneath their shade. This is the type of what happens, and ought to happen, with the productions of the arts of design, and the creations of talent, when no obstacles are offered by an ignorant culture.

In this way, the very small number of artists, eminent for the gifts of genius and invention, naturally compels to a subordination which extends to more than one degree of inferiority, those whom a sense of their weakness, and

the judgment of public opinion, prevent from aspiring to more elevated ranks. Consequently, not being able to pretend to great undertakings and to more important works, which necessarily demand the most celebrated names and talents, they content themselves with becoming skilful instruments in the hand and under the eye of the chief who directs them. It is then that, by the effect of a great combination of means, great things are enabled to arise.

No doubt it will happen, and it has happened more than once, that, from the inferior rank of secondary parts, some will mount in their turn to the highest employments, whether by their own power and the independence of their characters, or as successors or direct heirs of the master under whom they have been formed. Indeed, in assuming this natural classification of men and of their value, it is necessary to grant that no one shall find himself located but by the free action of his will, nor shall remain in his place but while it is his interest to do so. It is thus that we have seen Giulio Romano, long second to Raffaello, become, after him, the first in Rome, and, by the effect of the same order of things, dispose at Mantua, in his great and memorable works, of the same assistants who had been employed by his master.

Thus, in all times, in antiquity as well as in the finest modern epochs, have great artists been created, produced, and perpetuated, under the influence of the natural causes of things.

But if, for this order, which is that of nature, we substitute the factitious system of equality of encouragement, or of an equal division of labour between the greatest possible number of those who profess the same art, a contrary system cannot but produce the opposite results. We shall thus favour a parasitical vegetation, from the middle of which we shall behold nothing rise above the factitious level. Diminutive plants, stifled by one another, products of an unskilful cultivation, will never attain to the value of the great tree, which, throwing forth its branches in freedom, would have increased by the power and impulse of nature.

Let us be persuaded that, as regards moral quality and the production of genius, nothing has less value than the small change of a great man.

If the execution of all the paintings produced by Raffaello had been divided among the fifty painters who formed his school, we cannot tell what pictures we should have had. What we may be sure of is, that we should not have had Raffaello.

LIST OF THE WORKS OF RAFFAELLO.

1. Assumption of the Virgin. Painted for Maddelena Degli Oddi, and placed in the church of St. Francesco, at Perugia.

2. St. Nicholas da Tolentino, crowned by the Virgin and St. Augustin. Painted for the church of St. Augustin, in Citta di Castello. *Vatican.*

3. A Crucifixion. Painted for the church of St. Dominic, in Citta di Castello. *Ib.*

4. A Holy Family. Seen by Marcelli at Fermo.

5. A Crucifixion. *Camaldulite Monastery at Perugia.*

6. Two Children. Fresco. *Sacristy of the Benedictine Monastery at Perugia.*

7. Virgin and Child. Circular. *Penna palace, Perugia.*

8. Virgin and Child, the latter playing with a book. *Casa Connestabili, Perugia.* (Engraved in 1821.)

9. The Virgin, St. Catherine, and Mary Magdalen. A dyptich. *Camuccini, Rome.*

10. Virgin, with Infant Child receiving a flower from its mother. Panel. *Ib.*

11. St. Sebastian. *Milan.*

12. The Annunciation. Panel. *Milan*

13. Marriage of the Virgin. *Church of St. Francesco, Citta di Castello.* (Engraved by Longhi.)

14. St. Catherine of Alexandria. Panel. *National Gallery*

15. The Circumcision. *Vatican.*

16. The Adoration of the Magi. *Vatican.*

17. The Annunciation. *Vatican*.
 18. Virgin and Child. Presented to Tadeo Tadei. Panel, circular. *Vienna*.
 19. Same subject. "La Vierge au Palmier." *Bridgewater Gallery*.
 20. Virgin, with Infant Jesus and Infant St. John, presenting a bird to the child. Presented to Lorenzo Nasi. *Florence*. (Engraved by Morghen.)
 21, 22. Portraits of Angelo and Madalena Doni. *Florence*.
 23. A Madonna and Child. "La plus belle des Vierges." *Bridgewater Gallery*.
 24. The same subject. ' .
 25. Christ in the Garden of Olives.
 26. St. George and the Dragon. *Louvre*.
 27. St. Michael combating the Monster. *Louvre*. (Engraved by Claude Duflos.)

These five pictures were all painted for Guido Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino.

28. The Virgin, John the Baptist, and St. Nicolas. Painted for the church of the Servites in Perugia.
 29. Christ in Glory, with God the Father, St. Benedict, St. Romuald, St. Laurence, St. Jerome, St. Maur, and St. Placidus. Fresco. Painted for the Camaldullites of St. Severo, at Perugia.
 30. The Virgin and dead Christ, with St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Cecilia and St. Catherine. Painted for the convent of St. Antony, at Perugia. *Galeria Reale Borbonica, at Naples*.
 31. } Christ in the Garden of Olives. Mr. Roger
 32. } Christ bearing the Cross. Mr. Miles.
 33. } Virgin with dead Christ. All three painted for the same convent. *Blenheim*.
 34. Entombment of Christ. *Borghese palace at Rome*.
 35. Virgin, with Infant Jesus and Infant St. John. "La Giardiniera." *Louvre*. (Engraved by Desnoyers.)
 36. The Assumption, (begun by Raffaello, finished by Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni.) *Vatican*.
 37. Theology. Fresco. *Vatican*. Eng. by Volpato & Morghen.
 38. Philosophy. do. do.
 39. Poetry. do. do.
 40. Justice. do. do.
 41. Adam and Eve. do. do.
 42. Judgment of Solomon. do. do.
 43. Science. do. do.
 44. Flaying of Marsyas. do. do.

45. Dispute of the Sacrament. *Vatican*. Eng by Volpato & Morghen
46. School of Athens. do do.
47. Parnassus. do. do.
48. Jurisprudence. do. do.
49. Isaiah. *Church of St. Augustin, Rome*. (Engraved by Chapman.)
50. Ezekiel. Engraved by Poilly and Longhi
51. Prophets and Sibyls. *Church of Della Pace, Rome*. (Engraved by Volpato.)
52. Galatca. *Little Farnese*. (Engraved by Richomme.)
53. Madona di Foligno. Painted for Sigismondo Conti. Canvas transferred from panel. *Vatican*. (Engraved by Desnoyers.)
54. Miracle of Bolsena. Fresco. *Vatican*. (Engraved by Morghen.)
55. Heliodorus. Fresco. *Vatican*. (Engraved by Volpato.)
56. St. Peter delivered from Prison. *Vatican*. do.
57. Attila. do. do
58. Jacob's Dream. *Vatican*. (Engraved by Aquila.)
59. Sacrifice of Isaac do do
60. The Burning Bush do. do
61. The Descent of the Ark. do. do
62. The Seasons. Arabesque. *Vatican*.
63. St. Cecilia, with St. Paul and other Saints. *Bologna*. Engraved by Strange and Massart.
64. Virgin and Child, whom she is caressing. *Palazzo Tempi, Florence*. Engraved by Morghen, Desnoyers, and S. Jesi.
65. Virgin and child, who is receiving a rose from its mother. Engraved by Poilly.
66. Virgin and Child. "Madonna della Seggiola." *Florence*. Engraved by Müller, Morghen, Bartolozzi, &c
67. Virgin with Infant Christ and Infant St. John. "La Vierge au Linge." *Louvre*. A repetition in the *Bridgewater Gallery*. Engraved by Desnoyers.
68. Virgin with Infant Christ, Infant St. John, and St. Joseph. "La Madonna del Passeggio." *Bridgewater Gallery*. Engraved by Larmessin.
69. Virgin with Infant Christ and Infant St. John. *Lord Garvagh*. Engraved by Desnoyers.
70. Same subject. *Turin*. Engraved by Toschi.
71. Virgin with Infant Christ, standing in his cradle; Infant St. John, and Elizabeth. *Louvre*. Engraved by Massart and Desnoyers.
72. Virgin with Infant Christ, Infant St. John, St. Ann, and St. Joseph. "La Vierge à la longue Cuisse." *Naples*. Engraved by Marc Antonio

73. Virgin presents Infant Christ to Elizabeth, with St. John, Elizabeth, and Mary Magdalen. "*La Madonna dell'Impannata.*" *Palazzo Pitti.* Engraved by Blomaert.

74. Virgin with the Fathers of the Church. "*Vierge au Baldaquin.*" Engraved by Nicolet.

75. Virgin with Infant Jesus, Infant St. John, St. Jerom, Tobit, and Raphael. "*La Vierge au poisson.*" *Madrid.* Engraved by Desnoyers.

76. Incendio di Borgo. Fresco. *Vatican.* Engraved by Volpato.

77. Victory of Ostia. Fresco. *Vatican.* Engraved by Aquila.

78. Justification of Pope Leo III. Fresco. *Vatican.* Engraved by Aquila.

79. Coronation of Charlemagne. Fresco. *Vatican.* Engraved by Aquila.

80. The Twelve Apostles, in Campicu. Fresco. *Vatican.* Engraved by Marc Antonio.

81. Portrait of Julius II. *National Gallery.* Engraved by Picart.

82. Portrait of Leo X. *Florence.* Engraved by Morel.

83. Portrait of Giovanna d' Aragona. *Louvre.* Engraved by Morghen.

84—97. Portraits of duke Lorenzo de' Medici, Giuliano de' Medici, cardinal Bembo, Giovanni della Casa, Federigo Chardonelet, archdeacon of Besançon (in *England*); count Baldassare Castiglione (*Louvre*, engraved by Edelenck); cardinal Inghirami, cardinal Bibiena, Baldo, Bartolo, Andrea Navagero, Beazzano, Parmigiano (*Pavia*); Tebaldeo, the poet, (engraved by Garavaglia.)

98. Portrait of Bindo Altoviti. *Munich.* Engraved by Morghen, as Raffaello's.

99. Portrait of Donna Beatrice, princess d'Este

99. Portrait of himself. *Gallery at Florence.*

100. Christ bearing his Cross. "*Lo Spasimo della Sicilia.*" *Madrid.* Engraved by Toschi.

101. Virgin with Infant Jesus on her right knee, Infant St. John, St. Ann, and St. Joseph. "*The Pearl.*" *Madrid.* Engraved by Voerman the elder, and Bonnemaïson.

102. The same subject.

103. The Visitation. *Madrid.* Engraved by Desnoyers

104. St. John in the Desert, seated on the trunk of a tree. *Florence.* Engraved by Bervic.

105. The same subject. The saint seated on a rock. *Dusseldorf.*

106. The Virgin with Infant Christ, St. Sixtus, and St. Barba. *Dresden.* Engraved by Müller.

107. Raffaello's Bible. Fifty-two subjects from Scripture. *Vatican* Engraved by Aquila and Chapron

108. Cupid and Psyche, the story of. Fresco. *Little Farnese*. Engraved by Dorigny.
109. Portrait of the Fornarina. *Palazzo Barbarini*. Engraved by Canego and Morghen.
110. St. Margaret. *Louvre*. Engraved by Surugue and by Desnoyers.
111. St. Michael overthrowing the Evil Spirit. *Louvre*. Engraved by Chatillon and by Tardieu.
112. Holy Family. *Louvre*. Engraved by Edelinck and Richomme.

THE CARTOONS.

113. The Charge to St. Peter. *Hampton Court*. Engraved by Dovigny.
114. The Death of Ananias. Ditto. Engraved by Andran.
115. Paul and Barnabas at Lystra. Ditto. Ditto.
116. St. Paul preaching at Athens. Ditto. Engraved by Marc Antonio.
117. The Miraculous Draught of Fishes. Ditto. Engraved by Dorigny.
118. The Healing of the Lame at the Gate Beautiful. Ditto. Ditto.
119. Elymas the Sorcerer struck with blindness. Ditto. Ditto.
120. The Stoning of St. Stephen. *Lost*.
121. The Conversion of St. Paul. *Lost*.
122. St. Paul in his Dungeon at Philippi. *Lost*.
123. Adoration of the Kings. *Lost*.
124. Jesus Christ and the Disciples of Emmaus. *Lost*.
125. Massacre of the Innocents. *Lost*.
126. The Ascension. *Lost* (All engraved by Dorigny.)
127. The Transfiguration. *Vatican*. Engraved by Morghen.
128. Designs for the Hall of Constantine.

RAFFAELLO'S DRAWINGS

Vasari, in various parts of his *Vite dei Pittori*, relates that Raffaello had an astonishing facility in making designs and drawings, which he gave to any one who applied for them; and Ascanio Condivi in his *Life of Michel Angelo*, mentions the same fact. It would occupy too much space to enumerate the various private cabinets which possess collections of the fragmentary ideas, sketches, designs, reminiscences, constantly thrown off by the pen or pencil of Raffaello. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with a list of the museums or public galleries in Europe which possess a greater or less number of these precious relics:

At Milan, in the Ambrosian library, there are of Raffaello's drawings,	6
Venice, in the Academy - - - - -	50
At Brera - - - - -	1
Modena (the design, exquisitely finished, of Calumny) - -	1
Florence, in the gallery - - - - -	20
Perugia, in the library of the University - - - - -	2
Perugia, in the various cabinets - - - - -	9
Fabriano - - - - -	1
Naples, in the museum - - - - -	1
Vienna, in the collection of the archduke Charles - -	33
Monaco - - - - -	1
Darmstadt, in the cabinet of the grand duke - - -	1
Paris - - - - -	1
London, in different collections - - - - -	27
Petersburg, in the gallery of the Hermitage - - -	1

APPENDIX.

I. (page 208.)

NUNQUAM MORITURUS
EXIGVIS HISCE IN ÆDIBUS
EXIMIUS ILLE PICTOR RAPHAEL
NATUS EST.
OCT · ID · APRILIS · AN · M · CDXXCIII ·
VENERARE IGITUR HOSPEM
NOMEN ET GENIUM LOCI

NE MIRERE
LUDIT IN HUMANIS DIVINA POTENTIA REBUS
ET SÆPE IN PARVIS CLAUDERE MAGNA SOLET.

II. (page 219.)

"IN the name of God, this 21st June, 1516, at Rome Be it known to all to whom these presents shall come, that Messer Raffaello da Urbino, painter, undertakes to execute and paint a picture for the nuns of the convent of Monteluca *extra muros*, at Perugia, upon the under-written terms, stipulations, and conditions. First, that the said picture shall be of the eight and width indicated in the first design given in by the said Messer Raffaello, the subject being the coronation of our most glorious lady; with the figures in manner and form as set forth in the said first design of the said excellent and honourable master, painted in good and fine colours, suitable to the work; and that the said M. Raffaello shall be bound to paint the said picture himself, at Rome, and furnish, at his own cost, the wood work, and colour, and gold, and all things necessary to its production in a complete state; the nuns paying the expenses of the case to contain it, and all the charges of conveying it from Rome to Perugia. And the said M. Raffaello promises entirely to complete the said work within the space of one year from this day—that is to say, the said picture shall

be by him wholly finished and despatched to Perugia, so that it may be hung over the altar of the church of the said convent of Monteluce on the day of the most holy festival of the Assumption, which will be on the 17th August, in the year 1517. The predella, frame, and other accompaniments of the said picture, are to be executed, framed, and gilded at Perugia by M. Bertoida Giovanni, painter, whom the said Messer Raffaello has selected for that purpose, and whom the said nuns accept, and not at the expense of the said M. Raffaello. The said Messer Berto is to paint on the said predella the nativity of our most gracious lady, her marriage, and her most holy death. Which works the said Messer Berto is also to complete, and have perfectly ready by the aforesaid 17th August, 1517. For which works and paintings the said nuns will pay to the said Messer Raffaello, and the said Messer Berto two hundred golden ducats (37*l.* 15*s.*); one hundred and twenty to the said Messer Raffaello, whereof he has already received on account twenty; and eighty to the said Messer Berto, to include all expenses of paint, gold, wood work, &c., of which eighty ducats, the said Messer Berto has received, on account, ten. The payment to be thus made: sixty ducats when the work is begun, including the thirty already received, as above; seventy, when it is half finished, and the remaining seventy when it is actually deposited in a complete and finished state in the said church of the said monastery; and if the said picture on the way from thence to Perugia shall receive any damage, the said Messer Raffaello is to repair the said damage effectually.

"I, Raffaello, agree to the above conditions, and have thereto set my hand at Rome, this day, and agree to receive payment in the manner set forth.

"I, Alfani da Perugia, on the part of the said nuns, promise to observe their part of the contract.

"And I, Pierniccolo Alevolino da Rocchacontrata, have written out the above at the request of the said parties, with my own hand."

III.

"Dear to me as a father, I have received your letter, wherein you inform me of the death of our most illustrious duke, upon whose soul God have mercy; I could not refrain from tears at the intelligence; thus the world goes. In matters which we cannot remedy, we must have patience, and resign ourselves to the will of God. I wrote the other day to my uncle the priest, asking him to send me the little picture belonging to our prefect's lady; he has not forwarded it. I should be glad if you would let him know when next any one comes here, that I may finish it. Further, I would beg you, my dear uncle, to tell my uncle and Lasanta that Tadeo Tadei, the Florentine of whom we have repeatedly spoken, is coming to Urbino, and I hope they will do him honour without stint, and I hope you will do so too, for love of me, since there is no man to whom I am more obliged than to Messer Tadeo. As to the picture, I have set no price upon it, nor shall I do so, thinking it better to leave it

value to be fixed by the possessor, who, since it was completed, has told me that he will give me commissions for this place and France, to the extent of three hundred ducats of gold. Probably by next feast, I shall be able to write and tell you what the picture has produced, and that I have finished my new cartoon. I should be most glad could I possibly obtain a letter of recommendation to the gonfaloniere of Florence from the prefect; I wrote a few days since to my uncle and to Giovanni to procure me one. It will be most useful to me with reference to an apartment I desire to paint, the commission for which rests with his lordship. I pray you to get me one, if it be possible, for I think if the prefect were to apply in my favour, I should obtain the commission. I commend myself to him heartily, as his old servant. Remember me to Ridolfo and the rest. This 11th April, 1508.

"Your Raffaello, painter in Florence.

"To my dearest uncle, Simone de Batisto di Ciarla da Urbino, Urbino."

IV.

"Mr. Hugh Howard has been so kind as to communicate to me a letter which himself copied from the original then in the hands of Cardinal Albani, since pope; Carlo Maratti had another copy granted him at the same time. The letter was written by Raffaello to an uncle of his, Simone di Battista de Ciarta of Urbino, and was so much esteemed by the cardinal, that he said he valued it equally with those he received from the greatest princes. If it had not been for some engagements Mr. Howard is under, the public would now have had the whole. However, I am permitted to give an extract from it:—

"Besides civilities, excuses for his own not writing, with handsome reproaches to his uncle for his deficiency in that matter, the business of the letter relates to his marriage, and the circumstances he was in otherwise.

"He thanks God he is yet single, and believes himself more in the right in refusing the offers he has had, than his uncle in advising him to marry. But goes on, however, with saying that Bibiena, cardinal of Santa Maria in Portico, had proffered him a relation of his, whom he had promised to take, with the consent of his uncle to whom he writes, and another uncle or priest. He speaks also of other proposals of this kind, that were then upon the tapis.

"As to the other branch of the letter, he says his personal estate in Rome amounts to 3000 ducats of gold, (£802, 10s.) that he has, more-over 50 crowns of gold, (£14 7s. 6d) per annum, as architect of St. Peters. and a yearly pension for life of 300 ducats of gold, (£86, 5s); besides being paid his own price for what he does. And that he had just begun another room (that in which is the Incendio di Borgo,) for the pope, for which he should have 1200 ducats of gold, (£345.) 'So that,' says he, 'I, dear uncle, am doing honour to you, to all my relations and to our country, but, nevertheless, I retain you as before, in the

depths of my heart, and whenever I hear or think of your name, it seems to me the name of my father.'

'He says he is in Bramante's place; that the church of St. Peter's would cost more than a million of gold (287,500*l.*); that the pope had appointed to expend 60,000 ducats (17,250*l.*) a year upon it, and thought of nothing else. That he had joined with him Fra Giocondo, a very able man, though above fourscore years old, as his assistant, so that he, who could not live long, might communicate to him what secrets in architecture he had, that he might be perfect in that art. And that the pope sent every day for them, and talked with them a great while on the affair of St. Peter's. He concludes, with salutations, but first says: 'I beg you to go to the duke and duchess, and say I know they will be glad to hear that they have a servant who is doing them honour, and commend me to them.'

"El Vostro RAFAELLO Pittore in Roma.

"1 July, 1599."

Richardson Account of Statues, &c. in Italy, p. 217

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